# DIO CHRYSOSTOM

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WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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IN FIVE VOLUMES

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# CONTENTS

# DIO CHRYSOSTOM

## THE SIXTY-FIRST DISCOURSE: CHRYSEÏS

In this little dialogue it would seem that Dio had chosen for discussion the most unpromising of topics. Little as is known about Briseïs, Homer at least tells us that when Agamemnon's messengers came to fetch her she followed them unwillingly, but Chryseïs, the involuntary cause of the quarrel out of which grew the *Iliad*, is restored to the arms of her father without giving the slightest clue to her emotions or desires. Apart from the epithet "fair-cheeked" which she shares with Briseïs, our only testimony regarding her personality is the tribute paid her by Agamemnon when he compares her with Clytemnestra to the disadvantage of the latter, a tribute, it may be, inspired as much by arrogant pride as by passion.

So far as is known, none of the Greek playwrights found in her story material suitable for dramatic treatment; yet Dio here undertakes the task of endowing this lay figure with life. His partner in the discussion is not a colourless individual, as is often the case, merely providing the cues for further argumentation and meekly assenting to the conclusions reached, but a woman with a mind of her own, repeatedly raising logical objections and asking pertinent questions. Her final utterance shows that, despite the dexterity of Dio, she has some lingering doubts about the true character of Chryseïs. It is of course peculiarly fitting that in treating such a topic as Chryseïs the interlocutor should be a woman, but that Dio should have cast a woman for such a rôle is of itself noteworthy, and there is such an atmosphere of verisimilitude surrounding the dialogue as to suggest that it may actually have taken place.

## ΔΙΩΝ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

## 61. ΧΡΥΣΗΙΣ

1 Δ. Ἐπεὶ τυγχάνεις οὐ φαύλως ἐπαινοῦσα Ὅμηρον οὐδέ, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί, πιστεύουσα τῇ δόξῃ προσποιῇ θαυμάζειν, ὃ δὲ δεινότατός ἐστιν ᾔσθησαι τοῦ ποιητοῦ, τὴν περὶ τὰ πάθη τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐμπειρίαν, τἄλλα μὲν ἐάσωμεν, εἰ ἐθέλεις, τὰ νῦν, τὰ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ στρατηγῶν, περὶ δὲ μιᾶς γυναικὸς σκεψώμεθα τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, ὁποίαν τινὰ πεποίηκε τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ ἱερέως, ἧς εὐθὺς ἐμνήσθη κατ' ἀρχὰς τῆς ποιήσεως. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἀγαμέμνων οὐ μόνον τὸ εἶδος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐπαινεῖν ἔοικε τῆς παιδίσκης, λέγει γὰρ ὡς οὐδὲν εἴη τὰς φρένας χείρων τῆς αὑτοῦ γυναικός· δῆλον δὲ ὡς ἐκείνην οἰόμενος νοῦν ἔχειν.

2 Τί δέ;[1] οὐκ ἄλλως τοῦτο εἴρηκε διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα ἀπατώμενος;

Δ. Ἰδεῖν ἄξιον· καίτοι χαλεπώτατον πείθειν τοὺς ἐρῶντας. καὶ γὰρ ὑπονοοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ὀργίζονται ῥᾳδίως, καὶ οὐδέποτέ φασιν ἀγαπᾶσθαι κατ'

[1] Τί δέ; Wilamowitz: εἰ δὲ.

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[1] Cf. *Iliad* 1. 113-115, spoken in praise of Chryseïs.

# DIO CHRYSOSTOM

## THE SIXTY-FIRST DISCOURSE: CHRYSEÏS

*Dio.* Since, as it happens, you praise Homer in no ordinary manner and you do not, like most persons, merely pretend to admire him, trusting to his reputation, but instead have discerned that quality in the poet in which he is most effective, his acquaintance with the passions of mankind, let us, if you please, pass by all else for the moment, the fortunes of kings and generals, and turn our attention to just one woman among the captives, aiming to discover how the poet has depicted the daughter of the priest whom he has mentioned at the very beginning of his poem. For Agamemnon seems to praise not only the beauty but also the character of the young woman, for he says that she is in no wise inferior in mind to his own wife [1]—clearly believing that Clytemnestra has intelligence.

*Interlocutor.* What of it? Has he not said this thoughtlessly, beguiled by his infatuation?

*Dio.* That is worth looking into; and yet it is very difficult to convince men who are in love, for most of them are suspicious and easily angered, and they never admit that they are loved as they deserve by

ἀξίαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐρωμένων, ἄλλως τε ὅταν ὦσι κρείττους τοσοῦτον καὶ συνόντες μετ᾿ ἐξουσίας.

Ταῦτα δέ φημι συμβαίνειν τοῖς φαύλοις ἐρασταῖς.

Δ. Εἴτε οὖν σπουδαῖος ἦν ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων, ὀρθῶς ἐγίγνωσκε περὶ αὐτῆς, εἴτε τοῖς πολλοῖς ὅμοιος, οὐ ῥᾴδιον φαύλην οὖσαν ἀρέσαι τὸν τοιοῦτον, ὥστε ἀγαθὴν ὑπολαβεῖν. φέρε δὴ καὶ τἄλλα ἴδωμεν.

3 Καὶ τίνα ἄλλην ἀπόδειξιν ἔχεις παρά γε Ὁμήρῳ τοῦ τρόπου τῆς γυναικός; οὐδὲν γοῦν πεποίηκεν αὐτὴν πράττουσαν ἢ λέγουσαν, ἀλλὰ σιγῇ τῷ πατρὶ διδομένην.

Δ. Τί γάρ; ἐκ τῶν γενομένων περὶ αὐτὴν οὐκ ἄν τις συμβάλοι τὴν διάνοιαν μὴ πάνυ ἁπλῶς μηδὲ εὐήθως σκοπῶν;

Ἴσως.

Δ. Πότερον οὖν[1] οἰώμεθα[2] τὸν Χρύσην ἀκούσης τῆς θυγατρὸς εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐλθεῖν μετὰ λύτρων ἅμα τὰ στέμματα κομίζοντα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἱκετεύειν καὶ τοὺς βασιλέας ἀφιέναι αὐτήν, ἢ τοὐναντίον ἐκείνης δεομένης τοῦ πατρός,

4 εἴ τι δύναιτο, βοηθεῖν; εἰ γὰρ ἔστεργε τοῖς παροῦσιν ἡ Χρυσηὶς καὶ τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι συνεῖναι ἠβούλετο, οὐδέποτ᾿ ἂν εἵλετο Χρύσης ἅμα τὴν θυγατέρα λυπῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι, οὐκ ἀγνοῶν ὅπως εἶχε πρὸς αὐτήν. τὸ γὰρ συνεῖναι τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν Χρυσηίδα στεργομένην οὐχ ἧττον τῷ Χρύσῃ συνέφερεν. καὶ γὰρ ἡ χώρα καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ αὐτὸς

[1] Πότερον οὖν Selden : ποτὲ.
[2] οἰώμεθα Reiske : οἰόμεθα.

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[1] Cf. *Iliad* 1. 12-16.

their beloved, especially when they are so superior in station to the objects of their passion and associate with them by virtue of authority.

*Int.* That kind of thing, in my opinion, happens with lovers of the low sort.

*Dio.* Well then, if Agamemnon was of the superior kind, he was right in his appraisal of the girl ; but if he was no better than most men, it is not easy for a woman of low degree to please a man like him to the point of taking her to be noble. Well now, let us examine also the other points.

*Int.* Why, what additional proof have you in Homer of the character of the woman ? At any rate he has not depicted her as doing or saying anything, but rather as being silently handed over to her father.

*Dio.* What ! Could one not deduce her faculties of mind from what took place in connexion with her, provided one were to consider the matter in a manner not wholly superficial and foolish ?

*Int.* Perhaps.

*Dio.* Are we, then, to suppose that against the wishes of his daughter Chryses came into the camp, bearing the fillets of the god along with the ransom, and besought the assembly and the kings to release her,[1] or, on the contrary, was it because she kept begging her father to aid her if he could ? For if Chryseïs was content with her situation and wished to live with Agamemnon, Chryses would never have chosen at one and the same time to grieve his daughter and to incur the malice of the king, not being unaware of the king's feelings toward her. For it was no less to the interest of Chryses that Chryseïs should live with the king, so long as he was fond of her, since the priest's country, his sanctuary, and he himself had

ὑπὸ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐγεγόνει, κἀκεῖνος ἦν αὐτῶν
5 κύριος. ἔτι δὲ πῶς παραχρῆμα μὲν ἁλούσης οὔτε ἦλθεν οὔτε ἐμέμνητο περὶ λύτρων, ὅτε εἰκὸς ἦν χαλεπώτερον φέρειν, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον τῆς μὲν λύπης ἐλάττονος γεγενημένης, συνηθείας δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα πλείονος; δεκάτῳ γὰρ ἔτει τῆς πολιορκίας ταῦτα συμβῆναί φησιν ὁ ποιητής, τὰ περὶ τὴν ἄφιξιν τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ τὴν κομιδὴν τῶν λύτρων. τὰς δὲ περιοίκους πόλεις καὶ τὰς ἐλάττονας εἰκὸς ἦν εὐθὺς ἁλῶναι κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦ πολέμου, ὧν ὑπῆρχεν ἡ Χρῦσα καὶ τὸ ἱερόν.

Οὐκοῦν ὁ λόγος οὗτος πολλὴν ἀτοπίαν ἐπιδείκνυσι τῆς Χρυσηίδος, τὸ πρότερον μὲν αἰχμάλωτον οὖσαν ἀνέχεσθαι, προσφάτως στερομένην τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῆς πατρίδος, διελθόντων δὲ δέκα[1] ἐτῶν χαλεπῶς φέρειν.

6 Δ. Εἴ γε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀκούσειας· οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸν τυχόντα ἐραστὴν ἅπαξ γενόμενον ἡδὺ ἀπολιπεῖν ταῖς ἐλευθέραις, μή τί γε τὸν ἐνδοξότατον καὶ πλουσιώτατον, βασιλέα μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ξυμπάντων, μεγίστην δὲ ἔχοντα δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς τότε ἀνθρώποις, κύριον δὲ οὐ μόνον ἐκείνης, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῆς πατρίδος, ἐλπίζοντα δὲ κρατήσειν ὀλίγου χρόνου καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας· τὸ γὰρ Ἴλιον φαύλως εἶχεν ἐκ πολλοῦ, καὶ μόλις διεφύλαττον αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν, ἐπεξῄει δὲ οὐδεὶς εἰς μάχην· καὶ ταῦτα οὐ παρέργως ἔχοντος πρὸς[2] αὐτὴν τοῦ βασι-

[1] *δέκα* added by Reiske.
[2] *πρὸς* added by Reiske.

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[1] Strabo places Chrysa at the head of the Adramyttic Gulf, close to Cilla with which it is associated in *Iliad* 1. 37-38.

[2] Dio accepts the term "singular" as a compliment to

come under the sway of the Achaeans, and Agamemnon was their sovereign. And, besides, how is it that immediately after her capture, at a time when she might be expected to be in greater distress, Chryses neither came nor made any mention of ransom, but rather some time later, at a time when her grief had diminished and her intimacy with Agamemnon had increased? For the poet says these things took place in the tenth year of the siege —I mean the coming of the priest and the bringing of the ransom—while it is reasonable to suppose that the cities in the neighbourhood of Troy, and especially the smaller ones, would have been taken in the very beginning of the war, and it is to this group that Chrysa and its sanctuary belonged.[1]

*Int.* Then this reasoning of yours attributes to Chryseïs very singular conduct, in that formerly she endured her lot as a captive, though newly robbed of her father and her country, but after ten years had passed she took it hard.

*Dio.* Yes, at least if you listen to what else I have to say[2]; for it is not pleasant for free women to abandon even an ordinary man, once he has become their lover, to say nothing of the most illustrious and wealthy man, king of all the Greeks, a man who held the greatest power of all among the men of that day, who had authority over not merely Chryseïs but her father and her country too, and who expected in a short time to become lord of Asia as well—for Ilium had long been in a bad way and its people were having difficulty in defending the city itself and no one went out for battle. And observe also that the

Chryseïs, but the interlocutor does not catch his meaning at once.

λέως, ἀλλὰ καὶ φανερῶς ὁμολογοῦντος προτιμᾶν τῆς αὐτοῦ γυναικός. τοσαῦτα ἀποπτύουσαν καὶ τηλικαῦτα ἀγαθά, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἐραστὴν οὐ μόνον βασιλέα μέγαν καὶ ἀνδρεῖον ἐν ὀλίγοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ νέον καὶ καλόν, ὥς φησιν Ὅμηρος τῷ Διὶ προσεικάζων αὐτόν, ἔπειτα εἰς ἑαλωκυῖαν ἀφικέσθαι τὴν πατρίδα καὶ συνοικεῖν ἑνὶ τῶν δούλων τῶν Ἀγαμέμνονος, εἴ γε ἔμελλε γαμεῖσθαι τῶν
7 ἐγχωρίων τινί, πῶς οὐκ ἄτοπον; τὸ γὰρ αἰχμάλωτον εἶναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μὴ στέργειν τὸν λαβόντα οὐχ ἱκανόν. ἡ γοῦν Βρισηὶς ἀγαπᾶν ἔοικε τὸν Ἀχιλλέα, καὶ ταῦτα ὅν φησιν ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς. τῷ δὲ Ἀγαμέμνονι τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν ἐπέπρακτο περὶ τὴν Χρυσηίδα.

Καλῶς. οὐκοῦν ἐκ τῶν λόγων τούτων οὐκ ἐβουλήθη Χρυσηὶς ἀποπεμφθῆναι παρὰ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος, ἀλλὰ Χρύσης ταῦτα ἔπραττε καθ' αὐτόν· ἢ εἴπερ ἐβούλετο, ἀφρονεστέρα ἂν εἴη, καὶ τὸν λόγον ἐναντίον εἶπας ἢ ὑπέσχου.

8 Δ. Ἀλλ' οὖν μηδὲ δίκην δικάσῃς, φασί, πρὶν ἀμφοτέρων ἀκοῦσαι. λέγεις δὴ σοφὸν ὄντα τὸν Ὅμηρον;

Ἴσως.

Δ. Οὐκοῦν τὰ μὲν αὐτὸν λέγειν οἴου, τὰ δὲ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι καταλιπεῖν αἰσθάνεσθαι. τοῦτο δὲ οὐ τῶν[1] πάνυ ἀδήλων ἐστίν. ἡ γὰρ Χρυσηὶς κατ'

[1] τῶν Pflugk: λόγων.

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[1] *Iliad* 1. 113-115. [2] *Ibid.* 2. 477-478.
[3] *Ibid.* 19. 282-300.
[4] He only promised to deduce her character from Homer's words. The speaker may be thinking of the appraisal of Chryseïs in § 1.

king had no casual regard for her, but even openly admitted that he preferred her to his own wife.[1] That she should spurn such numerous and exceptional advantages, and in particular a lover who was not only a great king and had few who vied with him in valour, but was also young and handsome, as Homer says in comparing him to Zeus,[2] and that she should then go to her native land, now a prize of war, and live as the wife of one of Agamemnon's slaves—that is, assuming that she would wed one of the men of the district—is not that singular? For that she was a prisoner of war and for that reason did not care for the man who got her is not enough to explain her conduct. At any rate Briseïs apparently loved Achilles, and that although, as she declares, it was he who slew her husband and her brothers.[3] But as for Agamemnon, nothing like that had been done regarding Chryseïs.

*Int.* Very good. Then from this line of reasoning it follows that Chryseïs did not wish to be parted from Agamemnon, but that Chryses was conducting these negotiations independently; or else, if indeed she did wish it, she would be rather foolish and the case you have made out is contrary to what you promised.[4]

*Dio.* Well now, as the saying goes, do not judge a case before you hear both sides.[5] Of course you speak of Homer as being a man of wisdom?

*Int.* Possibly.

*Dio.* Then you should assume that he tells some things but leaves others to the perception of his readers. But this is not one of the very obscure instances. For Chryseïs at the outset apparently

[5] A familiar maxim supposed to obtain in Athenian law-courts.

ἀρχὰς μέν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἠγάπα μένειν παρὰ τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι δι᾽ ἃς εἶπον αἰτίας καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ᾔδει χάριν ὅτι μηδενὶ δοθείη τῶν ἀδοξοτέρων, ἀλλὰ τῷ πάντων βασιλεῖ, κἀκεῖνος οὐκ ἀμελῶς ἔχοι πρὸς
9 αὐτήν· ὥστε οὐκ ἔπραττε περὶ λύτρων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκουε τὰ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ὁποῖα ἦν, ὡς χαλεπά, καὶ τὴν ὠμότητα τῆς Κλυταιμνήστρας καὶ τὸ θράσος, ἐνταῦθα ἐφοβεῖτο τὴν εἰς τὸ Ἄργος ἄφιξιν. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον παρέμενε στέργουσα ἴσως τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα· ὅτε δὲ ἦν πρὸς τέλει ὁ πόλεμος καὶ διέρρει λόγος ὡς οὐκέτι δυνήσονται πλείω χρόνον ἀντέχειν οἱ Τρῶες, οὐ περιέμεινε τοῦ Ἰλίου τὴν ἅλωσιν. ᾔδει γὰρ ὡς τὸ πολὺ τοὺς νικῶντας ὑπερηφάνους γιγνομένους[1] καὶ τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν τότε μᾶλλον ἰσχύουσαν τὴν περὶ τῶν θεῶν,[2] ὅταν πολεμῶσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι.

10 Διὰ ταῦτα ἐκάλει τότε τὸν πατέρα καὶ δεῖσθαι τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐκέλευεν· ἐπυνθάνετο γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὅτι ἐγυναικοκρατοῦντο οἱ Ἀτρεῖδαι καὶ μεῖζον ἐφρόνουν τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων αἱ γυναῖκες, οὐκ ἐπὶ κάλλει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐταῖς νομίζουσαι προσήκειν μᾶλλον. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Πελοπίδας τε εἶναι καὶ ἐπήλυδας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, αὐταὶ δὲ Ἀχαιίδες, Τυνδάρεω θυγατέρες καὶ Λήδας. ὁ δὲ Τυνδάρεως ἔνδοξος ἦν καὶ βασιλεὺς τῆς Σπάρτης, ὥστε καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην διὰ τοῦτο ἐμνήστευσαν

[1] *γιγνομένους* Dindorf: *γενομένους*.

was content to remain with Agamemnon for the reasons I have named, and she was grateful to the gods that she had not been given to any of the less illustrious persons, but rather to the king of all, and also that he was not indifferent toward her; and so she made no move regarding ransom. But when she heard what conditions were like in the house of Agamemnon, how disagreeable they were, and when she heard also about the cruelty of Clytemnestra and about her boldness, then she looked with dread to her arrival in Argos. Moreover, although she had hitherto remained with Agamemnon, possibly for love of him, still when the war was near its close and a report was current that the Trojans no longer would be able to hold out, she did not wait for the capture of Ilium. For she knew that in general men who are victorious grow arrogant, and that the time when religious scruples are more potent is when men are at war.

For these reasons at that juncture she summoned her father and bade him entreat the Achaeans; for she learned, it would appear, that the Atreidae were dominated by their wives and that the wives felt themselves superior to these men, not alone because of their beauty, but also because they believed that the right to rule belonged rather to themselves. For the Atreidae were descendants of Pelops and newcomers in Greece,[1] whereas they themselves were women of Achaia, daughters of Tyndareüs and Leda. Now Tyndareüs had been illustrious and king of Sparta, and so not only had Helen on this account been courted by the noblest among the Greeks, but

[1] Tradition made Pelops a native of Phrygia in Asia Minor.

[2] τῶν θεῶν Pflugk: τὸν θεόν.

οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ βοηθήσειν ὤμοσαν.
11 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀδελφαὶ Κάστορος καὶ Πολυδεύκους ἦσαν, οἳ Διὸς παῖδες ἐνομίσθησαν καὶ θεοὶ μέχρι νῦν πᾶσι δοκοῦσι διὰ τὴν δύναμιν ἣν τότε ἔσχον. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ προεῖχον· τῶν δὲ ἔξω Πελοποννήσου μεγίστη δύναμις ἦν ἡ περὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ταύτην καθεῖλον ἐπιστρατεύσαντες Θησέως βασιλεύοντος. ἔτι δὲ ἀνεψιὸς ἐγεγόνει αὐτοῖς Μελέαγρος ὁ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄριστος.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἠπίστατο ἡ Χρυσηίς, τὸ δὲ φρόνημα ἤκουε τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην ἐπεγίγνωσκεν ὅσον ὑπερεῖχε[1] τοῦ ἀνδρός· ὥστε ἐπειδὴ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν μεγάλα ἤκουε διά τε χώρας ἀρετὴν καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων καὶ χρημάτων, κατεφρόνησεν οὐ τοῦ Μενελάου μόνον, ἀλλὰ τοῦ τε Ἀγαμέμνονος καὶ ξυμπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος,
12 καὶ ταῦτα εἵλετο ἀντ' ἐκείνων. ὁ μὲν οὖν Μενέλαος καὶ πρότερον ὑπεῖκε περὶ πάντων τῇ Ἑλένῃ καὶ ὕστερον εἰληφὼς αἰχμάλωτον ὅμως ἐθεράπευεν· ὁ δὲ Ἀγαμέμνων διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπαιρόμενος τὴν Κλυταιμνήστραν ἠτίμασεν,[2] ὥστε δῆλον ἦν ὅτι οὐκ ἀνέξοιντο ἀλλήλων, ἀλλ' ἔσοιτο τοιαῦτα σχεδὸν

[1] ὑπερεῖχε] ὑπερεῖδε Arnim.
[2] ἠτίμασεν] ἠτίμαζεν Arnim.

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[1] Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 3. 10. 8-9, lists thirty-two suitors, adding that, on the advice of Odysseus, Tyndareüs exacted an oath that they stand by whoever might be chosen to wed Helen, in case any one should wrong him in his marriage rights.

[2] According to tradition Leda bore Castor and Clytemnestra to Tyndareüs, Polydeuces and Helen to Zeus.

[3] Helen had been carried off by Theseus and Peirithoüs.

they had sworn to render aid in case of need.[1] Besides, these women were sisters of Castor and Polydeuces, who had come to be regarded as sons of Zeus,[2] and who to this day are deemed gods by all men because of the power they acquired at that time. For not only were they pre-eminent among the dwellers in the Peloponnese, but among those outside the Peloponnese the greatest power was that of Athens, and Castor and Polydeuces had overwhelmed that city in a campaign which they made in the reign of Theseus.[3] Furthermore, Meleager, the noblest among the Greeks, had been a cousin of theirs.[4]

Now though Chryseïs did not know these things, she did hear of the proud spirit of the women, and she learned how far above her husband Helen stood—so far that, when Helen heard of the great advantages of Asia, due alike to excellence of soil and size of population and abundance of riches, she came to scorn, not only Menelaüs, but Agamemnon too and Greece as a whole and she chose the one in preference to the other. Now Menelaüs had been accustomed to yield to Helen in everything before her elopement, and also, when later on he took her captive, he was kind to her in spite of all[5]; but Agamemnon, puffed up because of his position as commander, had disparaged Clytemnestra, and so it was clear that they were not going to get along well together, but that instead there would be just about such actions as

[4] Meleager's mother was Leda's sister. The Calydonian boarhunt, of which he was the hero, was popular with both poet and artist.

[5] Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 155-156, says that when Troy was taken Menelaüs was so moved by Helen's beauty that he let fall the sword with which he meant to slay her. He treats her with marked courtesy in the *Odyssey*.

ὁποῖα συνέπεσεν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα ἥδετο λέγοντος τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ἡ Χρυσηίς, καὶ ταῦτα φανερῶς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ὅτι προτιμᾷ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτὴν καὶ οὐδὲν ἡγοῖτο χείρονα· φθόνον γὰρ
13 καὶ ζηλοτυπίαν ᾔδει φέροντα. καὶ νὴ Δία τὸν τρόπον ἑώρα τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ὅτι οὐ βέβαιος ἀλλὰ ὑπερήφανος εἴη καὶ ὑβριστής, καὶ τί ποιήσει πρὸς αὐτὴν αἰχμάλωτον οὖσαν ἐλογίζετο παυσάμενος τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, ὅπου γε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικός, βασιλίδος τε οὔσης καὶ παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς πεποιημένος, οὕτως ὀλιγώρως ἐμνημόνευεν. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀνόητοι χαίρουσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐρασταῖς, ὅταν φαίνωνται τὰς ἄλλας ἀτιμάζοντες· αἱ δὲ νοῦν ἔχουσαι τὴν φύσιν ὁρῶσι[1] τοῦ ταῦτα ποιοῦντος ἢ λέγοντος.

14 Ἅμα δὲ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν[2] ᾐσθάνετο αὐτὸν ὑβριστικῶς ἔχειν,[3] καὶ ταῦτα ὅτε μάλιστα ἤρα. τὸ γὰρ οὕτως ἀπελάσαι τὸν[4] πατέρα τῆς ἐρωμένης καὶ μὴ φείσασθαι δι᾽ αὐτὴν καὶ οὐχ ὅπως παραμυθήσασθαι τὸν πρεσβύτην εἰπόντα ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ τῇ θυγατρὶ δεινὸν εἴη, τοὐναντίον δὲ μὴ μόνον ἐκείνῳ ἀπειλεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Χρυσηίδα ἀτιμάζειν λέγοντα,

τὴν δ᾽ ἐγὼ οὐ λύσω πρίν μιν καὶ γῆρας ἔπεισιν
ἡμετέρῳ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ ἐν Ἄργεϊ, τηλόθι πάτρης,
ἱστὸν ἐποιχομένην καὶ ἐμὸν λέχος ἀντιόωσαν,

πόσης τινὸς ὑπερηφανίας; τί γὰρ ἂν ὕστερον ἐποίησεν, ὅτε ἐρῶν οὕτως ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς διαλέγεται;

[1] ὁρῶσι] ὑφορῶσι Geel. [2] αὐτὴν Emperius: αὐτὴν.
[3] ἔχειν] ἔχοντα Arnim.
[4] After τὸν Arnim deletes Χρύσην.

[1] A reference to Clytemnestra's slaughter of Agamemnon and Cassandra; cf. § 15 and Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*.

came to pass.[1] Nor was Chryseïs pleased when Agamemnon said what he did, moreover publicly in the assembly of the Achaeans, namely, that he prized her more than his own wife and thought her not inferior to her, for Chryseïs knew that such talk breeds envy and jealousy. Then too, she observed Agamemnon's character and saw that he was not stable but arrogant and overbearing, and she calculated what he would do to her, a captive, when he ceased to desire her, seeing that he referred to his wife, queen though she was and the mother of his children, in such disparaging terms. For though foolish women delight in their lovers when they are seen to disparage all other women, those who are sensible discern the true nature of the man who acts or talks that way.

And at the same time Chryseïs was aware that he was insolent too in his treatment of herself, and that too at a time when he was most in love with her. For example, that he should so roughly have driven off the father of his beloved, instead of sparing him on her account, to say nothing of his not having soothed the old man by saying that his daughter had nothing to fear from him, but, on the contrary, not only threatening him but also speaking slightingly of Chryseïs by saying,

> But I'll not free her ere old age o'ertakes
> Her far from home, at Argos, in our house,
> Plying the loom and visiting my couch.[2]

What overweening insolence! Why, what would he have done later on, seeing that while still in love he talks of her in such a fashion? Therefore, to

[2] *Iliad* 1. 29-31.

ταῦτα οὖν φυλάξασθαι καὶ προϊδεῖν οὐδαμῶς φαύλης 15 γυναικός. ἐδήλωσε δέ, οἶμαι, τὰ περὶ τὴν Κασσάνδραν γενόμενα ἐν τῷ Ἄργει καὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα αὐτόν, ὅτι νοῦν εἶχεν ἡ Χρυσηὶς ῥυσαμένη τῶν κακῶν τούτων ἑαυτήν. οὐκοῦν τὸ μήτε ἔρωτι μήτε βασιλείᾳ μήτε τοῖς δοκοῦσιν ἐνδόξοις καὶ ἀγαθοῖς νέαν οὖσαν ἐπαίρεσθαι[1] μηδ' εἰς πράγματα σφαλερὰ καὶ τεταραγμένην οἰκίαν καὶ εἰς φθόνον καὶ ζηλοτυπίαν αὑτὴν προέσθαι γυναικὸς σώφρονος καὶ τῷ ὄντι ἀξίας ἱερέως εἶναι θυγατρός, παρὰ θεῷ τεθραμμένης.

Τί οὖν; ἐκ τούτων σὺ φῂς νοῦν ἔχειν αὐτὴν ἡγήσασθαι τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα;

16 Δ. Οὐδαμῶς· οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰκὸς ἦν λέγειν αὐτὴν τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον· ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων συνεῖναι.

Πῶς οὖν οὔ φησι χαίρουσαν αὐτὴν ὁ ποιητὴς ἀπιέναι, καθάπερ τὴν Βρισηίδα λυπουμένην;

Δ. Ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο σωφρονοῦσα ἔπραττεν, ὅπως μὴ παροξύναι τὸν Ἀγαμέμονα μηδὲ εἰς φιλονικίαν ἀγάγοι. δηλοῖ δὲ ὅμως, ὅπου φησὶν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως τῷ πατρὶ δοθῆναι παρὰ τὸν βωμόν·

> ὣς εἰπὼν ἐν χερσὶ τίθει, ὁ δ' ἐδέξατο χαίρων
> παῖδα φίλην.

οὐ γὰρ ἄν,[2] οἶμαι, λυπουμένην αὐτὴν ὁ πατὴρ ἐδέ-

[1] *ἐπαίρεσθαι* added by Reiske.
[2] *ἄν* added by Jacobs.

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[1] Cf. § 12 and note. [2] *Iliad* 1. 348.

guard against these things and to forecast them is the mark of a woman by no means ordinary. However, to my way of thinking, what happened in Argos both to Cassandra and to Agamemnon himself [1] revealed that Chryseïs was a sensible woman to have saved herself from these disasters. Accordingly, that neither passion nor kingly station nor those things which are deemed glorious and good turned her head, young though she was, and that she did not plunge into perilous ventures and a disordered house and envy and jealousy—these are the marks of a prudent woman, one truly worthy of being daughter of a priest, nurtured in the house of a god.

*Int.* How so? Do you mean that these are the reasons why Agamemnon thought her wise?

*Dio.* By no means, for it is not likely that she said any such thing to him; rather that he formed his judgement on the basis of her conduct in general.

*Int.* Why, then, does not the poet say that she departed in gladness, just as he says that Briseïs departed in sorrow? [2]

*Dio.* Because in this too she was showing her prudence, her aim being not to exasperate Agamemnon or drive him to contentiousness. However, the poet makes the situation plain in the passage in which he says she was restored by Odysseus to her father beside the altar:

> Thus having said, he placed her in his arms.
> And he rejoicing took his darling child.[3]

For, methinks, if she were sorrowing, her father would not be receiving her "rejoicing"; nor, per-

[3] *Ibid.* 1. 446-447.

χετο χαίρων· οὐδ' ἂν φίλην εἶπε τυχόν, εἰ μὴ σφόδρα ἠγάπα τοῖς γεγονόσι τὸν πατέρα.[1]

17 Εἶεν· ἀλλὰ τί[2] μᾶλλον ἡ Χρυσηὶς ταῦτα ἐλογίζετο ἃ σὺ λέγεις ἢ[3] Χρύσης καθ' αὑτόν;

Δ. Ὅτι τὰ περὶ τὴν Κλυταιμνήστραν εἰκὸς ἦν[4] μᾶλλον ἐκείνην πολυπραγμονεῖν· εἰ δὲ[5] καὶ λογιζομένου τοῦ πατρὸς ταῦτα συνεχώρει καὶ ἐπείθετο, οὐδὲ τοῦτο φαῦλον. αἱ γοῦν πολλαὶ καὶ ἀνόητοι τοὺς ἐραστὰς μᾶλλον ἀγαπῶσιν ἢ τοὺς γονέας.

Διὰ τί οὖν, εἴπερ ἦν φρόνιμος, οὐκ ἐκώλυε τὸν Χρύσην ἐν τῷ φανερῷ δεῖσθαι τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος, ἵνα ἧττον ἐχαλέπαινεν;

18 Δ. Ὅτι ᾔδει τοὺς ἐρῶντας ἰδίᾳ μὲν πάντα βουλομένους χαρίζεσθαι τῷ ἔρωτι, τὸν δὲ ὄχλον αἰδουμένους ἐνίοτε, καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ στέμματα ἔχειν[6] τινὰ ἡγεῖτο πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος δύναμιν, ὥσπερ[7] ἐγένετο.

Ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνο ἐνθυμοῦμαι· πῶς συνέτυχε τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα καὶ τότε τῆς τοῦ ἱερέως θυγατρὸς καὶ ὕστερον ἐρασθῆναι τῆς Κασσάνδρας, θεοφορήτου καὶ ἱερᾶς κόρης;

Δ. Ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο σημεῖον ὑπερηφανίας καὶ τρυφῆς, τὸ μᾶλλον ἐπιθυμεῖν τῶν παρανόμων καὶ σπανίων ἢ τῶν ἑτοίμων.

[1] τὸν πατέρα deleted by Wendland.
[2] ἀλλὰ τί Emperius, ἀλλ' οἴει Pflugk: ἀλλ' εἰ UBM (εἰ in ras. M).
[3] After ἢ Wilamowitz adds ὁ.
[4] ἦν Pflugk: εἶναι.
[5] εἰ δὲ added by Wilamowitz.

chance, would the poet have called her "darling" unless she loved her father dearly for what had taken place.

*Int.* Very well; yet why did Chryseïs reason thus rather than Chryses on his own account?

*Dio.* Because it was to be expected that what concerned Clytemnestra would hold greater interest for Chryseïs; but even if it was her father who reasoned thus and she agreed with him and followed his advice, that was no trifling feat either. At any rate most women in their folly are more devoted to their lovers than to their parents.

*Int.* Why, then, if she really was sensible, did she not try to prevent Chryses from appealing to Agamemnon publicly, in order that he might be less angry?

*Dio.* Because she knew that, though in private lovers desire in every matter to gratify their passion, they are sometimes embarrassed in the presence of the crowd, and she believed that the fillets of the god had a certain power with the people, as proved to be the case.[1]

*Int.* Still here is something that troubles me. How did it happen that Agamemnon not only fell in love with the priest's daughter at the time in question, but afterwards with Cassandra too, a divinely inspired and holy maid?[2]

*Dio.* Because this too is a sign of pride and wantonness—to desire the forbidden and rare rather than the easily obtainable.

[1] Cf. *Iliad* 1. 22-23.

[2] Loved by Apollo, Cassandra received from him the gift of prophecy.

[6] ἔχειν] ἕξειν Arnim. [7] After ὥσπερ Emperius adds καί.

Οὐκ ἀντιλέγω τὸ μὴ οὐ φρόνιμον εἶναι τὴν Χρυσηίδα, εἰ ταῦτα οὕτω γέγονε.

Δ. Σὺ δὲ πότερον ἀκούειν θέλοις ἂν ὡς γέγονε πάντως[1] ἢ ὅπως καλῶς εἶχε γενέσθαι;

[1] γέγονε πάντως] γέγονεν ὄντως Emperius.

*Int.* I do not gainsay that Chryseïs was prudent, if these things took place as you claim.

*Dio.* Would you rather hear how they assuredly did take place, or how it would be well for them to have taken place?

# THE SIXTY-SECOND DISCOURSE: ON KINGSHIP AND TYRANNY

The complimentary address contained in §§ 1 and 3 of our Discourse could hardly have been intended for any one but Trajan. Yet the document is so abrupt in both beginning and ending and so brief when compared with the four treatises on kingship supposed to have been addressed to Trajan (Or. 1-4) that it is difficult to imagine that it ever was delivered as a distinct entity in the form in which we have it. It is of course conceivable that we are dealing with a fragment of a fifth speech on kingship addressed to the much-enduring Trajan, but it is more likely that we have before us a variant version of a portion of one of the addresses just mentioned. Dio himself makes it plain (Or. 57. 10-12) that on occasion he took the liberty of repeating to other hearers speeches previously delivered before "the Emperor." On such an occasion he doubtless felt free to modify the original wording, and such a procedure would explain the existence of certain doublets in his text. We may conjecture that his editor, finding the substance of Or. 62 imbedded in such a variant version of one of the four speeches to which we have referred and not wishing to discard it, gave it independent existence here. Finally, it may be noted that, though the second element in the title, tyranny, is not specifically mentioned in our document, it is dealt with in Or. 3, and also that there is a notable similarity between Or. 3. 10 and Or. 62. 3.

# 62. ΠΕΡΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΥΡΑΝΝΙΔΟΣ

1 Καὶ μὴν εἴ τις ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς οὐχ οἷός τε ἄρχειν ἐστί, καὶ τούτου σφόδρα ἐγγὺς ὄντος, ᾧ δὴ[1] ξύνεστιν, οὐδὲ αὖ μίαν ψυχὴν κατευθύνειν τὴν αὑτοῦ, πῶς ἂν δύναιτο βασιλεύειν μυριάδων ἀναριθμήτων πανταχοῦ διεσπαρμένων, ὥσπερ σύ,[2] καὶ πολλῶν γε οἰκούντων ἐπὶ πέρασι γῆς, ὧν οὐδὲ ἑώρακε τοὺς πλείστους οὐδ' ἂν ἴδοι ποτὲ οὐδὲ τῆς φωνῆς ξυνήσει; ὅμοιον γὰρ ὥσπερ εἴ τις λέγοι τὸν οὕτως ἀδύνατον τὴν ὄψιν ὡς μηδὲ τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ὁρᾶν, ἀλλὰ προσδεόμενον χειραγωγοῦ, τοῦτον ἐφικνεῖσθαι βλέποντα μέχρι τῶν πλεῖστον ἀπεχόντων, ὥσπερ οἱ πόρρωθεν ὁρῶντες ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους τά τε ὄρη καὶ τὰς νήσους, ἢ τὸν οὐ δυνάμενον φθέγγεσθαι τοῖς παρεστῶσιν ἱκανὸν ὅλοις δήμοις καὶ στρατοπέδοις
2 εἰς ἐπήκοον φθέγγεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἔχει τι παραπλήσιον ὁ νοῦς τῇ ὄψει· ὡς ἐκείνη διεφθαρμένη μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τῶν πλησιαίτατα ὁρᾷ, ὑγιὴς δὲ οὖσα μέχρις οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ ἀστέρων ἐξικνεῖται· ταὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο ἡ μὲν τοῦ φρονίμου διάνοια καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἱκανὴ γίγνεται διοικεῖν, ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἄφρονος οὐδὲ ἓν σῶμα τὸ ἐκείνου δύναται φυλάττειν οὐδὲ ἕνα οἶκον.

[1] After δὴ Arnim adds ἀεὶ.
[2] After σύ Emperius deletes λέγεις.

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[1] I.e., the man himself.

# THE SIXTY-SECOND DISCOURSE: ON KINGSHIP AND TYRANNY

And indeed, if a person is not competent to govern a single man, and that too a man who is very close to him, in fact his constant companion,[1] and if, again, he cannot guide a single soul, and that his own, how could he be king, as you are,[2] over unnumbered thousands scattered everywhere, many even dwelling at the ends of the earth, most of whom he has not even seen and never could see, and whose speech he will not understand? Why, it is as if one were to say of the man with vision so impaired that he cannot see even what lies at his feet but needs some one to lead him by the hand, that he can reach with his eyes the most distant objects, like those who at sea behold from afar both the mountains and the islands; or as if one were to say of the man who cannot make himself heard even by those who stand beside him, that he is able to speak so as to be heard by whole communities and armies. In fact, the intellect has something comparable to vision—as vision, when it is ruined, can see nothing even of what is very near, although when in health it can reach sky and stars, just so the mind of the prudent man shows itself competent to direct all men whatsoever, whereas the mind of the fool cannot protect a single body, his own, or a single household.

[2] Presumably Trajan: cf. § 3 and Introduction.

Οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς δυναστείαις, ὅτι μὲν ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς πάντα λαμβάνειν, πάντων ἐπιθυμοῦσιν· ὅτι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐστι τὸ δίκαιον, διὰ τοῦτό εἰσιν ἄδικοι· ὅτι δὲ οὐ φοβοῦνται τοὺς νόμους, οὐδὲ εἶναι νομίζουσιν· ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἀναγκάζονται πονεῖν, οὐδέποτε παύονται τρυφῶντες· ὅτι δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀμύνεται κακῶς πάσχων, οὐδέποτε παύονται ποιοῦντες· ὅτι δὲ οὐδεμιᾶς σπανίζουσιν ἡδονῆς, οὐδέποτε ἐμπίμπλανται ἡδόμενοι· ὅτι δὲ οὐδεὶς ψέγει ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ, οὐδὲν ἀπολείπουσι τῶν οὐ δικαίως[1] λεγομένων· ὅτι δὲ οὐδεὶς αὐτοὺς βούλεται λυπεῖν, διὰ τοῦτο πᾶσι χαλεπαίνουσιν· ὅτι δὲ ὀργισθεῖσιν ἔξεστι πάντα ποιεῖν, διὰ τοῦτο συνεχῶς
3 ὀργίζονται. ὁ δὲ ἀγαθὸς ἄρχων, ὥσπερ σύ, τἀναντία ἐπιτηδεύει· οὐδενὸς μὲν ἐπιθυμεῖ διὰ τὰ πάντα οἴεσθαι ἔχειν, φείδεται δὲ τῶν ἡδονῶν διὰ τὸ μηδεμιᾶς ἂν ἀπορῆσαι ὀρεχθείς, δικαιότερος δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐστίν, ἅτε πᾶσι παρέχων τὴν δικαιοσύνην, ἥδεται δὲ τοῖς πόνοις, ὅτι ἑκὼν πονεῖ, ἀγαπᾷ δὲ τοὺς νόμους, ὅτι οὐ δέδοικε.

Καὶ ταῦτα ὀρθῶς ὑπολαμβάνει. τίνι μὲν γὰρ φρονήσεως δεῖ πλείονος ἢ τῷ περὶ τοσούτων βουλευομένῳ; τίνι δὲ ἀκριβεστέρας δικαιοσύνης ἢ τῷ μείζονι τῶν νόμων; τίνι δὲ σωφροσύνης ἐγκρα-
4 τεστέρας ἢ ᾧ πάντα ἔξεστι; τίνι δὲ ἀνδρείας μείζονος ἢ τῷ πάντα σῴζοντι; καὶ τοίνυν τῷ μὲν ἄλλων ἄρξοντι πολλῶν τοῦτο μὲν δαπάνης δεῖ παμπόλλης, τοῦτο δὲ στρατοπέδων καὶ πεζικῶν

[1] οὐ δικαίως] οὐδὲ καλῶς Emperius.

Take, for example, most men who hold unbridled power—because they have the power to obtain everything, they crave everything; because justice is lodged in their hands, for this reason they are unjust; because they do not fear the laws, they do not even believe in their existence; because they are not compelled to labour, they never cease their luxurious living; because no one defends himself when maltreated, they never cease maltreating; because they lack no pleasure, they never get their fill of it; because no one censures them openly, they miss no occasion for unjust criticism; because no one wishes to hurt their feelings, for this reason they display ill-temper toward everyone; because they have it in their power to do anything when enraged, for this reason they are continually in a rage. On the other hand, the good ruler, such as you are, practises the opposite conduct—he covets nothing for the reason that he feels he has everything; he is sparing in his pleasures for the reason that he would lack for no pleasure he might crave; he is more just than any other man inasmuch as he provides justice for all; he delights in labour because he labours of his own accord; he cherishes the laws because he does not fear them.

Moreover, he is right in reasoning so. For who needs ampler wisdom than he who deliberates on so many matters? Who needs stricter justice than he who is superior to the laws? Who needs more steadfast self-control than he to whom anything is permissible? Who needs greater courage than he who is the preserver of all? Furthermore, he who is to govern many others needs, not only very great outlay of wealth, but also armies, both infantry and cavalry.

καὶ ἱππικῶν, ἔτι δὲ τειχῶν καὶ νεῶν καὶ μηχανημάτων, εἰ μέλλει καθέξειν μὲν τοὺς ὑπηκόους, ἀμυνεῖσθαι δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐὰν δέ τις ἀφιστῆται τῆς ἀρχῆς, καταστρέψεσθαι.[1] τὸ δὲ αὑτοῦ κρατεῖν πάντων ἀδαπανώτατον καὶ ἀπραγμονέστατόν ἐστι καὶ ἀκινδυνότατον· οὔτε γὰρ πολυδάπανος οὔτε ἐργώδης οὔτε ἐπισφαλὴς ὁ τοῦ ἐγκρατοῦς ἀνθρώπου βίος· ἀλλ' ὅμως τοιοῦτον ὂν πάντων χαλεπώτατον πέφυκεν.

5 Ἐπεὶ Σαρδανάπαλλος ἐκεῖνος ὁ θρυλούμενος εἶχε μὲν Νίνον, εἶχε δὲ Βαβυλῶνα, τὰς μεγίστας τῶν πρότερον γεγενημένων πόλεων, ὑπήκουε δὲ αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τὰ νεμόμενα τὴν ἑτέραν ἤπειρον μέχρι τῶν ἀοικήτων τῆς γῆς λεγομένων· βασιλείας δὲ οὐδὲν ἦν αὐτῷ προσῆκον, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν σηπομένων τινὶ νεκρῶν. βουλεύεσθαι μὲν γὰρ ἢ δικάζειν ἢ στρατηγεῖν οὔτε ἐβούλετο οὔτε ἐδύνατο.
6 ἐν δὲ τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀποδιδράσκων εἰς τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν καθῆστο ἐπὶ χρυσηλάτου κλίνης ἀναβάδην ὑπὸ ἁλουργέσι παστοῖς, ὥσπερ ὁ θρηνούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν Ἄδωνις, ὀξύτερον φθεγγόμενος εὐνούχων, τὸν μὲν τράχηλον ἀποκλίνων, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀργίας καὶ σκιᾶς λευκὸς καὶ τρέμων, τὸ σῶμα πελιδνός,[2] τοὺς δὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀναστρέφων, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀγχόνης· ὃν οὐκ ἦν διαγνῶναι τῶν παλλακῶν. καίτοι χρόνον τινὰ κατέσχεν, ὡς ἐδόκει, τὴν ἀρχὴν

[1] καταστρέψεσθαι Emperius: καταστρέφεσθαι.
[2] λευκὸς . . . πελιδνός] λευκὸς τὸ σῶμα καὶ τρέμων, τὸ χρῶμα πελιδνός Emperius.

[1] Assurbanipal, last of the great Assyrian rulers, 668–625 B.C. Herodotus (2. 150) speaks only of his wealth; Dio's account of his effeminacy and indolence may have been drawn from Ctesias. See Diodorus Siculus 2. 23-28.

and in addition fortifications, ships, and engines of war, if he is to control his subjects, defend himself against the foe, and, should some one try to revolt from his authority, reduce him to subjection. However, to control one's self is of all things least costly, least difficult, least dangerous; for neither costly nor laborious nor precarious is the life of the man of self-control; yet for all that, though so desirable, it is naturally the most difficult thing of all.

For instance, the famous Sardanapallus,[1] whose name is a by-word, held Nineveh and Babylon as well, the greatest cities that had yet existed, and all the nations which occupy the second continent,[2] as far as what are called the uninhabited parts of the earth, were subject to him; but to kingship he could lay no claim, no more than could some rotting corpse. For the fact is, he neither would nor could take counsel or give judgement or lead troops. On the contrary, it was his custom to slip away into the women's quarters in his palace and there sit with legs drawn up on a golden couch, sheltered by purple bed-hangings, just like the Adonis who is lamented by the women,[3] his voice shriller than that of eunuchs, his neck lolling to one side, his face pale and twitching from indolence and living in the shade, his body livid, his eyes upturned as if he were being throttled—in short, one whom it would be impossible to distinguish from his concubines. And yet for a time, as it seemed,

[2] Asia.

[3] As early as the fifth century Athenian women honoured him with a two-day festival in which the lament was prominent; cf. Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 389. A celebration in Alexandria forms the background of Theocritus' fifteenth idyl; cf. also Bion's *Lament* in Edmonds, *Greek Bucolic Poets* (L.C.L.), pp. 386-395.

εἰκῇ φερομένην, ὥσπερ ναῦν δίχα κυβερνήτου πολλάκις ἀλωμένην μηδενὸς κατέχοντος ἐν τῷ πελάγει κατὰ τύχην, εὐδίας ἐπεχούσης· ἔπειτα ὀλίγος κλύ-
7 δων ἐπαρθεὶς καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἓν κῦμα ἐπέκλυσεν. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἅρμα ἰδεῖν ἔστιν οὐδενὸς ἡνιοχοῦντος ἐν ἀγῶνι ῥεμβόμενον, ὃ νίκης μὲν οὐκ ἄν ποτε τύχοι, ταράττει δὲ καὶ ἀπόλλυσι τὸν ἐγγὺς ὄχλον τῶν θεατῶν.

Οὔτε γὰρ ἄφρων βασιλεὺς ἔσται ποτέ, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ τυφλὸς ἡγεμὼν ὁδοῦ γένοιτ' ἄν, οὔτε ἄδικος, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ κανὼν σκολιὸς καὶ ἄνισος ἄλλου προσδεόμενος κανόνος, οὔτε δειλός, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ λέων ἐλάφου λαβὼν ψυχὴν ἢ σίδηρος κηροῦ καὶ μολίβδου μαλακώτερος. τίνι δ' ἰσχυροτέρας ἐγκρατείας προσῆκον[1] ἢ τῷ πλείστων μὲν ἡδονῶν ἐν μέσῳ ζῶντι, πλεῖστα δὲ πράγματα διοικοῦντι, ἐλαχίστην δὲ σχολὴν ἄγοντι, ὑπὲρ μεγίστων δὲ καὶ πλείστων φροντίζοντι;

[1] προσῆκον Emperius: προσῆκεν.

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[1] Nineveh fell in 612 B.C., some years after the death of Assurbanipal. The story of Sardanapallus, as told by Ctesias, however, is not that of the historical ruler. In the Greek account Sardanapallus was the last king of the Assyrians,

he maintained his empire,[1] though it was drifting aimlessly, just as, for instance, a ship without a helmsman, roving on the sea, with no one in control, as fate directs, so long as fair weather holds ; then, should a little sea arise, even a single wave easily swamps it. Yes, and one may also see a chariot, with no one holding the reins, wobbling crazily in a race, a chariot which, while it could never win a victory, nevertheless throws into confusion and even works destruction in the mob of spectators near the course.

Nay, there will never be a foolish king any more than there could be a blind guide for a traveller ; nor an unjust king any more than a crooked, uneven measuring-rod needing a second rod to set it straight ; nor a timid king any more than a lion with the spirit of a deer, or than iron softer than wax or lead. On the contrary, to whom appropriately belongs a sterner self-control than to him who lives surrounded by the greatest number of pleasures, who administers the greatest number of affairs, who has the least leisure, and who is concerned over the greatest and most numerous problems ?

who burned himself together with his treasures and concubines when he foresaw the capture of Nineveh.

# THE SIXTY-THIRD DISCOURSE: ON FORTUNE (I)

The authenticity of this encomium on Fortune was denied long ago by Emperius, and his judgement has been reaffirmed by Arnim. The criteria are stylistic: there is a notable disregard of hiatus, a phenomenon not to be expected of an able sophist in a composition such as this—Arnim cites the particularly objectionable passage in § 5: *πολλὰ δὲ αὕτη ἔχουσα χρώματα ἐοικότα ἀφρῷ ᾑμαγμένῳ ἐφήρμοσε τῇ γραφῇ*—and the subject matter is treated in a dull and uninspired fashion. The one redeeming feature of the document is the anecdote, elsewhere recorded only by Sextus Empiricus, of Apelles and his sponge.

Although Tychê appears in Hesiod's *Theogony* among the progeny of Tethys and Oceanus and is occasionally named by poets of later date, notably Pindar, the personification seems not to have taken firm hold upon Greek imagination. With the Romans, however, the case was different, and Tychê in her Latinized form, Fortuna, received ample honours as a deity in many parts of the Empire, being intimately associated with the ruling house.

## 63. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΥΧΗΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ

1 Οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐοίκασι πρὸς τὴν τύχην διακεῖσθαι ὃν τρόπον οἱ πλέοντες πρὸς τοὺς ἀνέμους τοὺς φορούς[1]· ἄσμενοι γὰρ προσκαρτεροῦσι τῷ δρόμῳ, καὶ[2] οἷς ἂν ὁ ἄνεμος παρῇ, ἐκεῖνοι[3] ἦλθον ὅπου ἤθελον, οἱ δὲ ἀπολειφθέντες ἐν πελάγει μέσῳ μάτην ὀδύρονται· οὕτως οὖν καὶ τῆς τύχης παρούσης μὲν χαίρειν καὶ ἥδεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, μὴ παρούσης δὲ λύπην ἔχειν καὶ ἀπορίαν. πάντα γὰρ ἐκ τῆς δαίμονος ταύτης· καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἄπορον εὔπορον φαίνεται[4] καὶ τὸ ἀσθενὲς ἰσχυρὸν καὶ τὸ αἰσχρὸν καλὸν καὶ ἡ πενία γίγνεται πλοῦτος.

2 Τύχης γοῦν ἐν θαλάττῃ γενομένης εὐπλοεῖ ναῦς καὶ ἐν ἀέρι φανείσης εὐτυχεῖ γεωργός. καὶ ψυχὴ γέγηθεν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης αἰωρουμένη[5]· εἰ δὲ ἀπολίποι τύχη, περίεισιν[6] ὡς ἐν τάφῳ τῷ σώματι. οὔτε γὰρ εἰ λέγοι τις, εὐδοκιμεῖ,[7] οὔτε εἰ πράττοι τις, ἐπιτυγχάνει, οὐδὲ ὄφελός τι εὐφυῆ γενέσθαι ἀπολιπούσης τύχης. ταύτης γὰρ μὴ παρούσης οὐκ ἦλθε[8] παιδεία οὐδὲ ἄλλο τι ἀγαθόν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἀρετὴ τότε ἔργων ἕνεκεν θαυμάζεται, ὅταν παρῇ τύχη· εἰ

[1] φορούς Reiske : σφοδρούς.
[2] καὶ deleted by Arnim.
[3] ἐκεῖνοι] ἐκεῖ τε Arnim.
[4] φαίνεται deleted by Arnim.
[5] αἰωρουμένη Emperius : γεωργουμένη.
[6] περίεισιν with UBM : περιΐησιν PH, περίεστιν Emperius.

# THE SIXTY-THIRD DISCOURSE: ON FORTUNE (I)

Mankind seems to feel toward Fortune as sailors do toward the winds that waft them on their way; for sailors gladly and with vigour apply themselves to their course, and those who have the breeze reach the port for which they aimed, while those who are abandoned by it in the midst of the open sea lament to no avail; so too when men have Fortune with them they rejoice and are glad, but when she is absent they are grieved and distressed. Yes, everything is the work of this goddess, for indeed when she is present the difficult appears easy, the weak strong, the ugly beautiful, and poverty turns to wealth.

For instance, when Fortune comes at sea a ship has fair sailing, and when she shows herself in the atmosphere a farmer prospers. Moreover, a man's spirit rejoices when uplifted by Fortune, yet should Fortune fail, it goes about in its body as in a tomb. For neither does a man win approval if he speaks, nor does he succeed if he acts, nor is it any advantage to have been born a man of genius when Fortune fails. For when she is not present learning is not forthcoming, nor any other good thing. Why, even valour gains recognition for its achievements only when Fortune

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[7] εὐδοκιμεῖ PH: ἐπαινεῖν δοκεῖ UBM, εὐπορεῖ Sonny.

[8] οὐκ ἦλθε] οὐ προῆλθε Gasda.

δὲ ἀφεθείη μόνη, λόγος ἐστὶ καλοῦ πράγματος ἄπρακτος. αὕτη πολεμούντων μέν ἐστι νίκη καὶ εἰρήνην ἀγόντων ὁμόνοια καὶ γαμούντων εὔνοια καὶ ἐρώντων ἡδονὴ καὶ ὅλως ἡ ἐπὶ παντί τῳ[1] γιγνομένῳ εὐπραγία.

3 Γῆν ὅταν καταλίπῃ τύχη, τότε καὶ σείεται καὶ τρέμει καὶ τὰ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς καλὰ διαρριπτεῖ· καὶ[2] τοῦτο γῆς νόσημα, μὴ παρούσης τύχης.[3] ὡς γὰρ[4] ναῦς εἰκῇ φέρεται καὶ ταχὺ βυθίζεται, κυβερνήτου στερομένη, καὶ ὡς τείχη κατέπεσε θεμελίων πονησάντων, οὕτω πόλις εἰς φθορὰν ὅλη χωρεῖ σπάνει τύχης. Ἀθῆναί ποτε τοῖς ῥήτορσιν ἠδικήθησαν[5] καὶ ἤγετο Δημοσθένης, οὐκέτι τῆς τύχης ἐπισκοπούσης τὰς Ἀθήνας. ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ καὶ οὐρανὸς τύχην ἔχειν, ὁπόταν[6] αἰθρίαν ἔχῃ, μὴ σκότος.

4 Ὁρᾶν δὲ χρὴ καὶ τὸ εὐμήχανον αὐτῆς. ἤδη γοῦν τις ἐκπεσὼν νεὼς ἐν πελάγει εὐπόρησε τοῦ ζῆν, ἐλθούσης τύχης. ἄξιον δὲ εἰπεῖν καὶ τὸ συμβὰν ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης Ἀπελλῇ τῷ ζωγράφῳ. ὡς γὰρ λόγος, ἵππον οὐχὶ ἐξ ἐργασίας ἀλλὰ ἐκ πολέμου ἐποίει· ὑψηλὸς ἦν τῷ αὐχένι καὶ ἐπανεστὼς καὶ τὰ ὦτα ὄρθιος καὶ δριμὺς τὰς ὄψεις, ὡς ἐκ πολέμου παρών, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ δρόμου θυμὸν ἐν ταῖς ὄψεσιν ἔχων, οἱ δὲ πόδες ὑπεφέροντο[7] ἐν τῷ ἀέρι, μικρὰ

[1] τῳ Bally : τῷ. [2] διαρριπτεῖ· καὶ] διαρριπτεῖται· Reiske.
[3] τοῦτο γῆς . . . τύχης deleted by van Herwerden.
[4] ὡς γὰρ Budé, ὡς δὲ Wilamowitz : ὥσπερ.
[5] τοῖς ῥήτορσιν ἠδικήθησαν Capps, εἰς ῥήτορας ἠδίκησαν Emperius : εἰς ῥήτορας ἠδικήθησαν.
[6] ὁπόταν Dindorf : ὁπότε ἄν.
[7] ὑπεφέροντο Arnim : ἐπεφέροντο or ἀνεφέροντο.

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[1] Though the text is corrupt, the allusion seems to refer to the Harpalus affair. Several Athenian politicians were

is present; on the other hand, if valour should be left to itself it is just a word, productive of no noble action. In time of war Fortune means victory; in time of peace, concord; at a marriage, goodwill; with lovers, enjoyment—in short, success in each and every undertaking.

When Fortune deserts a land, then that land is shaken and trembles and tosses the lovely things upon it in all directions—this too a disease of the earth, Fortune not being present. Again, as a ship moves aimlessly and founders quickly when deprived of a pilot, or as fortifications crumble when foundations are damaged, so a city goes to utter ruin for lack of Fortune. Athens was once wronged by its orators and Demosthenes was haled to prison,[1] all because Fortune no longer was watching over Athens. But, methinks, even the sky has Fortune, when it has clear weather instead of darkness.

But one should consider also the resourcefulness of the goddess. For example, there have been times when a man who had fallen overboard from a ship at sea was able to save his life because Fortune came to his aid. Moreover, what happened to Apelles the painter because of Fortune deserves recounting.[2] For, as the story goes, he was painting a horse—not a work-horse but a war-horse. Its neck was high and arched, its ears erect, its eyes fierce, like one come not from work but from war, with the spirit of the charge in their glance, and its feet were rising in the

suspected of embezzlement and Demosthenes was even lodged in prison.

[2] Apelles flourished in the time of Philip and Alexander. His fame as a painter was such that many stories gathered about his name; this particular story is recorded also by Sextus Empiricus, *Outlines of Pyrrhonism* 1. 28.

ψαύοντες ἀνὰ μέρος τῆς γῆς. καὶ ὁ ἡνίοχος ἐκράτει τοῦ χαλινοῦ, τὸ πολεμικὸν σάλευμα τοῦ ἵππου ἀπὸ ῥυτῆρος ἄγχων. ἅπαντα δὲ ἐχούσης τῆς εἰκόνος ἐοικότα ἔλειπεν ἀφροῦ χρῶμα, οἷον ἂν γένοιτο μιγέντος αἵματος καὶ ὑγροῦ κατὰ συνεχῆ μῖξιν, διώκοντος μὲν τοῦ ἄσθματος τὸ ὑγρὸν τῶν στομάτων, ἀφρίζοντος δὲ τῇ κοπῇ τοῦ πνεύματος, αἷμα δὲ ἐπιρραινούσης τῷ ἀφρῷ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ χαλινοῦ ὕβρεως. οὐ δὴ εὐπόρει γράφειν ἵππου ἀφρὸν κεκμηκότος ἐν ἀγῶνι. ἀπορῶν δὲ ἐπὶ πλέον, τέλος ἀπαλγήσας ἐνέσεισε περὶ τοὺς χαλινοὺς τῇ γραφῇ τὴν σπογγιάν. πολλὰ δὲ αὕτη ἔχουσα χρώματα ἐοικότα ἀφρῷ ἡμαγμένῳ ἐφήρμοσε τῇ γραφῇ[1] τὸ χρῶμα. Ἀπελλῆς δὲ ἰδὼν ἐχάρη τῷ ἐν ἀπογνώσει τύχης ἔργῳ καὶ ἐτέλεσεν οὐ διὰ τῆς τέχνης, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς τύχης τὴν γραφήν.

6 Τί δὲ ἄλλο Ἡρακλέα μέγιστον ἐποίησεν; ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ λέοντα ἄγξας ἔπνιξε καὶ πτηνὰ ζῷα ἐδίωξε τοῦ ἀέρος, καὶ τοῦ ἕλους τὴν ὕδραν ἀφείλετο, συντρίψας αὐτῆς τὰς κεφαλάς, καὶ οὐκ ἐφόβησεν αὐτὸν ὁ περὶ τὸν Ἐρύμανθον κάπρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἑσπέραν ἦλθε καὶ τοῦ ἐκεῖ φυτοῦ τὸν καρπὸν ἐκόμισε. Γηρυόνου δὲ τὰς βόας ἀφείλετο καλὰς οὔσας, καὶ Διομήδη τὸν Θρᾷκα ἐνουθέτησεν ἵπποις σῖτον διδόναι, μὴ ἀνθρώπους, ἐσθίειν, τάς τε Ἀμαζόνας, ὅτι εἶεν γυναῖκες, ἤλεγξεν. ἅπαντα δὲ ταῦτα ἔπραττεν ἑπομένης αὐτῷ τύχης.

[1] τῇ γραφῇ Reiske: τῆς γραφῆς.

[1] Our author has here listed eight of the famous "labours" of Heracles. The remaining four were the capture of the Cerynean hind, the cleaning of the Augean stables, the vanquishing of the Cretan bull, and the theft of Cerberus.

air, touching the ground lightly one after the other. Moreover, the driver had a firm grip on the reins, throttling the martial gallop of the horse in mid-career. But though the picture had everything true to life, there was lacking a colour wherewith to depict froth such as there would be when blood and saliva have mixed in constant intermingling, the panting breath driving before it the moisture of the lips and forming froth because of laboured breathing, while the cruel bit spattered blood upon the froth. So, then, Apelles knew not how to represent froth of a horse wearied in action. But as he was more and more perplexed, finally in a fit of desperation he hurled his sponge at the painting, striking it near the bit. But the sponge, containing as it did many colours, which when taken together resembled bloody froth, fitted its colour to the painting. And at the sight Apelles was delighted by what Fortune had accomplished in his moment of despair and finished his painting, not through his art, but through the aid of Fortune.

Again, what else was it that made Heracles most mighty? Why, he not only throttled and choked to death a lion, pursued winged creatures of the air, ejected the Hydra from the swamp, crushing its heads, and refused to be frightened by the boar which haunted Erymanthus; he even journeyed to the West and bore away the fruit of the tree which grew there. Moreover, he carried off the cattle of Geryones, fine animals that they were, admonished Diomedes the Thracian to give his horses grain, not men, to eat, and proved the Amazons to be mere women.[1] But all these exploits he was able to accomplish because Fortune attended him.

7 Ἔχει δ' οὐ κακῶς οὐδὲ τὰ τῶν παλαιῶν αἰνίγματα περὶ αὐτήν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἕστησαν αὐτήν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ σφαίρας, οἱ δὲ πηδάλιον ἔδωκαν κρατεῖν· οἱ δὲ τὰ κρείττω γράφοντες τὸ τῆς Ἀμαλθείας ἔδοσαν κέρας πλῆρες καὶ βρύον ταῖς ὥραις, ὃ ἐν μάχῃ Ἡρακλῆς Ἀχελῴου ἀπέρρηξεν. τὸ μὲν οὖν ξυρὸν τὸ ἀπότομον τῆς εὐτυχίας μηνύει· ἡ δὲ σφαῖρα ὅτι εὔκολος ἡ μεταβολὴ αὐτῆς ἐστιν· ἐν κινήσει γὰρ τυγχάνει πάντοτε ὂν τὸ θεῖον. τὸ δὲ πηδάλιον δηλοῖ ὅτι κυβερνᾷ τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον ἡ τύχη. τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀμαλθείας κέρας μηνύει τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν δόσιν τε καὶ εὐδαιμονίαν. μὴ ὀνομάζωμεν οὖν κακήν τινα τύχην· οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν ἀρετὴν λέγει τις εἶναι κακὴν οὐδὲ τὸ ἀγαθὸν κακόν.

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[1] The Greeks used the word *aenigmata* to denote that which was not plainly stated but rather hinted.

[2] The "razor's edge" to denote fine balance is a figure as old as Homer; cf. *Iliad* 10. 173.

[3] According to Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 2. 7. 5, Heracles fought with the river-god Acheloüs for the hand of Deïaneira. Having broken off one of the horns of Acheloüs, who took

Moreover, the riddles [1] of the ancients in their representations of Fortune are not without merit. For instance, some have placed her on a razor's edge,[2] others on a sphere, others have given her a rudder to wield, while those who depict her most effectively have given her the horn of Amaltheia, full to overflowing with the fruits of the seasons, the horn which Heracles in battle broke off from Acheloüs.[3] Now the razor's edge betokens the abruptness with which good fortune changes; the sphere, that change of fortune is easy, for the divine power is, in fact, ever in motion; the rudder indicates that Fortune directs the life of men; and the horn of Amaltheia calls attention to the giving of good things and prosperity. Let us not, then, call any fortune evil: for one does not say that virtue is evil, or that goodness is evil.

the form of a bull, Heracles restored it to him in exchange for the horn of Amaltheia, daughter of Haemonius, which had the power of bestowing abundant food and drink in answer to the prayer of him who possessed it. Sophocles describes briefly but vividly the encounter with Acheloüs in his *Trachiniae* (504-530).

# THE SIXTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE: ON FORTUNE (II)

This laudation of the goddess Fortune, though longer than the foregoing, is hardly on a higher level. Arnim was doubtless correct in denying it a place among the genuine works of Dio. There is a monotony in its phrasing which one would be reluctant to associate with him, and also a certain indifference toward hiatus. But more objectionable still is a tedious parade of erudition, ranging all the way from the commonplaces of myth and history to points so obscure that one is tempted to ascribe them to the fertile imagination of the author. Was it his purpose to overawe with his learning a less erudite company?

Where was his address delivered? In §§ 12-17 he traces the ancestry of his hearers to Athens *via* Euboea. His account sounds a bit fanciful and the twofold migration from Athens is not found elsewhere in Greek tradition, so that it is impossible to identify with certainty the people to whom he is speaking. However, Strabo (5. 246) reports that, after the original settlement of Naples by citizens of Cumae, additional settlers later came from Athens. Furthermore, a Neapolitan coin of about the middle of the fifth century B.C. depicts Pallas wearing an olive crown, and at some time or other the name Phaleron came to be associated with Naples. Finally, the complimentary remarks regarding the city in which the address was being delivered seem to fit Naples better than any other likely possibility. It might seem surprising, however, that the Naples of the first century of our era should still cherish the memory of Athenian contributions to its parent stock. Possibly our Discourse was addressed to a select group of Neapolitans, who, however unintelligently, strove to keep alive traditions of ancient days.

## 64. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΥΧΗΣ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΣ

1 Τὰ γιγνόμενα παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν τύχην ἐγκλήματα μέγιστα ἂν ἔγωγε θείην ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐγκώμια. τὰς γοῦν ἀδήλους τῶν πραγμάτων μεταβολὰς εἰς ταύτην ἀναφέρουσι, καὶ οἷς ἀπὸ γνώμης ἐπιχειρήσαντες διήμαρτον, τούτων ἀφῃρῆσθαι νομίζουσιν ὑπὸ[1] τῆς τύχης, ὡς πάντα περιποιεῖν, εἰ θελήσαι, δυναμένης. ἀκούσαις δ᾽ ἂν αἰτιωμένων αὐτὴν καὶ γεωργῶν καὶ ἐμπόρων καὶ πλουσίων ἐπὶ τοῖς χρήμασι καὶ καλῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασι καὶ Πανθείας ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ Κροίσου ἐπὶ τῷ παιδὶ καὶ Ἀστυάγους ἡττηθέντος καὶ Πολυκράτους ἑαλωκότος. καὶ Πέρσαι δὲ ἐμέμφοντο τὴν τύχην μετὰ τὴν Κύρου σφαγὴν καὶ Μακεδόνες μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτήν.

2 Ἤδη δέ τινα καὶ τῶν ἰδίων παθῶν τῇ τύχῃ προφέρουσιν, ἡ Μήδεια τὸν ἔρωτα, ὁ Μίδας τὴν

[1] ὑπὸ Reiske: ἀπὸ.

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[1] Pantheia, wife of Abradatas, king of Susa, was taken captive by Cyrus. Through her efforts Abradatas accepted service with Cyrus and was slain fighting for him. Pantheia committed suicide at his grave. Xenophon devotes much space to the tale in his *Cyropaedeia* but he fails to note anywhere that Pantheia blamed Fortune.

[2] Warned in a dream, Croesus vainly tries to save his son Atys; cf. Herodotus 1. 34-35.

# THE SIXTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE: ON FORTUNE (II)

The charges which men lay to the account of Fortune I would consider to be highest encomia in her favour. For example, the inscrutable vicissitudes in their affairs they ascribe to her, and whenever they unwisely set their hands to certain projects and meet with failure they imagine they have been robbed of their purposes by her, since, in their opinion, she could do any and every thing if she only would. Again, you may hear farmers, shippers, and men of wealth blaming her for their loss of money, dandies for their persons, Pantheia for her husband,[1] Croesus for his son,[2] Astyages for his defeat,[3] and Polycrates for his capture.[4] Moreover, the Persians blamed Fortune after the slaying of Cyrus,[5] as did the Macedonians after Alexander's death.

Furthermore, men even reproach Fortune for some of their own emotional weaknesses—Medea for her

[3] Learning that his daughter is fated to bear a son who will bring ruin on her father, Astyages tries to thwart fate, but to no avail, and he is dethroned by that son (Cyrus); cf. Herodotus 1. 107-130.

[4] Though warned by soothsayers, Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, is taken captive and crucified by the Persian Oroetes; cf. Herodotus 3. 120-125.

[5] Though warned in a dream, Cyrus is slain by Tomyris, the nomad queen; cf. Herodotus 1. 205-213.

εὐχήν, ἡ Φαίδρα τὴν διαβολήν, ὁ Ἀλκμαίων ὅτι ἐπλανᾶτο, ὁ Ὀρέστης ὅτι ἐμαίνετο. ἐρῶ δὲ ὑμῖν τινα καὶ Κύπριον λόγον, εἰ βούλεσθε. ἤνεγκεν ὁ παλαιὸς βίος καὶ ἐνδόξους γυναῖκας, Ῥοδογούνην πολεμικήν, Σεμίραμιν βασιλικήν, Σαπφὼ μουσικήν, Τιμάνδραν καλήν· οὕτω καὶ ἐν Κύπρῳ Δημώνασσα ἐγένετο, πολιτική τε ὁμοῦ γυνὴ καὶ νομοθετική.
3 τρεῖς ἔθηκεν αὕτη τοῖς Κυπρίοις νόμους· τὴν μοιχευθεῖσαν κειραμένην πορνεύεσθαι· θυγάτηρ αὐτῆς ἐμοιχεύθη καὶ τὴν κόμην ἀπεκείρατο κατὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ ἐπορνεύετο. τὸν αὑτὸν ἀποκτείναντα ἄταφον ῥίπτεσθαι· δεύτερος οὗτος Δημωνάσσης νόμος· τρίτος ὥστε μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι βοῦν ἀρότριον. δυοῖν δὲ αὐτῇ παίδων ἀρρένων ὄντων, ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ βοῦν ἀποκτεῖναι ἀπέθανε· τὸν δὲ αὑτὸν ἀπο-
4 κτείναντα οὐκ ἔθαψεν. ἡ δὲ τέως μὲν ἐκαρτέρει καὶ ἄπαις οὖσα καὶ νομοθετοῦσα, ἰδοῦσα δὲ βοῦν ἐπὶ μόσχῳ ἀπολλυμένῳ μυκωμένην καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἐν ἄλλῳ συμφορὰν γνωρίσασα, τήξασα χαλκὸν εἰς αὐτὸν ἥλατο. καὶ ἦν ἐκεῖ πύργος ἀρχαῖος ἀνδριάντα χάλκεον ἔχων, χαλκῷ ἐντετηκότα καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν τοῦ ἱδρύματος καὶ πρὸς μίμημα τοῦ

[1] Medea, in his tragedy of that name, is depicted by Euripides as resentful for the evil results of her passion for Jason but without remorse for her own misdeeds.

[2] Midas owed his ruin to his prayer that all that he might touch should turn to gold.

[3] Instead of feeling shame because of her passion for her stepson Hippolytus, Phaedra at her death leaves a false accusation that causes his death too; cf. Euripides' *Hippolytus*.

[4] Both Alcmaeon and Orestes were pursued by the Furies for matricide. In Euripides' *Iphigeneia among the Taurians* Orestes blames Apollo as the author of his crime.

passion,[1] Midas for his prayer,[2] Phaedra for her false accusation,[3] Alcmaeon for his wandering,[4] Orestes for his madness. But I will tell you also a certain Cyprian tale if you wish. The days of old produced women of distinction as well as men—Rhodogunê the warrior,[5] Semiramis the queen,[6] Sappho the poetess, Timandra the beauty[7]; just so Cyprus too had its Demonassa,[8] a woman gifted in both statesmanship and law-giving. She gave the people of Cyprus the following three laws: a woman guilty of adultery shall have her hair cut off and be a harlot—her daughter became an adulteress, had her hair cut off according to the law, and practised harlotry; whoever commits suicide shall be cast out without burial—this was the second law of Demonassa; third, a law forbidding the slaughter of a plough-ox. Of the two sons which she had, the one met his death for having slain an ox, while the other, who slew himself, she refrained from burying. Now for a time she not only bore with fortitude the loss of her children but also persevered in her regulations; but having observed a cow lowing in sorrow over a calf which was dying, and having recognized her own misfortune in the case of another, Demonassa melted bronze and leaped into the molten mass. And there used to be at that place an ancient tower holding a bronze image, an image embedded in bronze, both in order to insure the stability of the statue and also as a

[5] Daughter of Mithradates I and wife of Demetrius Nicator; cf. Or. 21. 7.

[6] Semi-mythical queen of Assyria, frequently named as builder of the walls of Nineveh or Babylon.

[7] Probably the mistress of Alcibiades; cf. Plutarch, *Alcibiades* 39.

[8] Nothing is known of Demonassa of Cyprus.

διηγήματος· ἐπιγραφὴ δὲ ἐπί τινος στήλης πλησίον,

σοφὴ μὲν ἤμην, ἀλλὰ πάντ᾽ οὐκ εὐτυχής.

5 Φέρε οὖν μὴ ἐρήμην ἡ τύχη ἁλισκέσθω μηδὲ φοβώμεθα τὸν τῶν κατηγορούντων θόρυβον. ἴσως γὰρ ἄν τι ἡμῖν πρὸς τὸ εἰπεῖν εὖ καὶ αὐτὴ συλλάβοι.[1] δοκοῦσιν οἱ τεχνῖται πρῶτον[2] τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς κατασκευῆς τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς δεδηλωκέναι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἕστηκεν ἑτοίμη πρὸς τὰ ἔργα, εἶτα τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ χειρὶ πηδάλιον κατέχει, καί, ὡς ἂν[3] εἴποι τις, ναυτίλλεται. τί δὲ ἄρα τοῦτο ἦν; πότερον ὡς μάλιστα τῶν πλεόντων τῆς τύχης δεομένων, ἢ διότι τὸν βίον ἡμῶν ὥς τινα μεγάλην ναῦν κυβερνᾷ καὶ πάντας σῴζει τοὺς ἐμπλέοντας; Ἀσσυρίους μέχρι τῆς Σαρδαναπάλου τρυφῆς, Μήδους μέχρι τῆς Κύρου τροφῆς,[4] Πέρσας μέχρι τῆς διαβάσεως, Ἀθηναίους μέχρι τῆς ἁλώσεως, Κροῖσον μέχρι Σόλωνος;

6 ἦν Οἰδίπους τὸ πρῶτον εὐτυχὴς ἀνήρ.

ἡ τύχη γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ μηδὲν παθεῖν περιποιουμένη[5] τὸ ἀγνοεῖν ἔδωκεν, ὅπερ ὅμοιον ἦν τῷ μὴ παθεῖν. εἶτα ἅμα τῆς εὐτυχίας ἐπαύσατο καὶ τοῦ γιγνώσκειν ἤρξατο. ἐγὼ δὲ[6] καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου πήρωσιν εὐτυχίαν καλῶ. Τέλλος[7] μὲν γὰρ βλεπέτω τοὺς

[1] After συλλάβοι Arnim suspects a lacuna.
[2] πρῶτον deleted by Emperius.
[3] ἂν added by Emperius.
[4] τροφῆς] ἀρχῆς Dindorf.
[5] περιποιουμένη PH : περιποιησαμένη UBM.
[6] δὲ added by Arnim.
[7] Τέλλος Casaubon : τέλος or πέλλος.

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[1] Nauck, *T.G.F.*, adesp. 124.
[2] Cf. Or. 63. 7.
[3] Cf. Or. 62. 5-6.

representation of the story; and near-by on a tablet there was an inscription:

Wise was I, yet in everything ill-starred.[1]

Well then, let not Fortune be condemned unheard, and let us not fear the clamour of those who accuse her. For perhaps even she herself might aid us somewhat in speaking well of her. In the first place, the artists are believed to have revealed her power by the way they have equipped her. For, to begin with, she stands ready for her tasks; secondly, in her right hand she holds a rudder and, as one might say, she is sailing a ship. But why, then, was this? Was it in the belief that sailors more than others need Fortune, or was it because she steers our lives like some great ship[2] and preserves all on board—the Assyrians until the wanton luxury of Sardanapalus[3]; the Medes until the rearing of Cyrus; the Persians until they crossed the sea[4]; the Athenians until their capture[5]; Croesus until the visit of Solon?[6]

At first a fortunate man was Oedipus.[7]

Yes, for Fortune, trying to provide freedom from suffering, granted him ignorance, which was tantamount to freedom from suffering. Then at one and the same time he reached the end of his good fortune and began to understand. For my part I call even his blindness good fortune.[8] For let Tellus behold

[4] To invade Greece.

[5] At the close of the Peloponnesian War.

[6] One of the most famous tales in Herodotus (1. 29-33).

[7] Nauck, *T.G.F.*, Euripides, frag. 157.

[8] In the *Oedipus Rex* of Sophocles, at first self-confident and happy, on learning that he has slain his father and married his mother, Oedipus puts out his eyes; cf. especially verses 1369-1383.

παῖδας καὶ Κυδίππη καὶ Αἰόλος καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἦν πατὴρ εὐτυχής· Οἰδίπους δὲ ἐκ τῆς πηρώσεως

αἰσχρὰ κερδανεῖ θεάματα.

7 Τῇ δὲ ἑτέρᾳ τῶν χειρῶν ἡ θεὸς καρποὺς ἑτοίμους κατέχει συνειλεγμένους, μηνύουσα τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἅπερ αὐτὴ δίδωσιν. τοῦτο ἦν ἄρα καὶ χρυσοῦν γένος καὶ νῆσοι μακάρων τινές, αὐτομάτας ἔχουσαι τροφάς, καὶ Ἡρακλέους κέρας καὶ Κυκλώπων βίος, ὅτι τοῖς πονήσασι τὸν βίον[1] αὐτομάτη λοιπὸν ἡ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀφθονία παραγίγνεται. Τάνταλος δὲ ἄρα ἐπὶ γήρως ἀργὸς ἦν[2]· διὰ τοῦτο ἄρα μέχρι τῶν χειλῶν ηὐδαιμόνει καὶ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς μόνον ηὐτύχει· τὰ πάντα δὲ ἐκεῖνα ἁρπασθέντα οἴχεται καὶ λίμνη καὶ καρποὶ καὶ τροφὴ καὶ ποτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης, οὕτω γ' ὡς ὑπὸ πνεύματος.

8 Ὠνόμασται δὲ ἡ τύχη καὶ πολλοῖς τισιν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὀνόμασι, τὸ μὲν ἴσον αὐτῆς νέμεσις, τὸ δὲ ἄδηλον ἐλπίς, τὸ δὲ ἀναγκαῖον μοῖρα, τὸ δὲ δίκαιον θέμις, πολυώνυμός τις ὡς ἀληθῶς θεὸς καὶ πολύτροπος. ταύτῃ ἐπέθεσαν καὶ γεωργοὶ Δήμητρος ὄνομα καὶ ποιμένες Πανὸς καὶ ναῦται Λευκοθέας καὶ κυβερνῆται Διοσκόρων.

[1] After βίον Arnim deletes ἐπὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς δεδήλωκεν, ὡς.
[2] Τάνταλος . . . ἦν suspected by Arnim.

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[1] See Herodotus 1. 30.
[2] Argive priestess whose sons, Cleobis and Biton, were rewarded for their piety by the gift of painless death ; cf. Herodotus 1. 31. Their archaic statues may be seen at Delphi.
[3] Aeolus had six sons and six daughters, each of whom enjoyed a happy wedded life ; cf. *Odyssey* 10. 2-12.

his children,[1] and Cydippê,[2] and Aeolus,[3] and whoever else may have been fortunate as a parent; yet by his blindness Oedipus

Will gain escape from shameful sights.[4]

And, to resume, in her other hand the goddess holds fruits plucked and ready for use, indicating the multitude of good things she herself provides—this, you see, would be both Golden Age and Isles of the Blest, as it were, with foods for the taking, and Horn of Heracles,[5] and life of the Cyclopes[6] all in one, since to those who have toiled for their living an abundance of good things comes thereafter spontaneously. But Tantalus, you know, was idle in old age; on that account, therefore, he was prosperous only as far as his lips, fortunate only with his eyes, while all those things he longed for—lake, fruits, food, and drink—vanished, snatched away by Fortune as by a blast of wind.[7]

Again, Fortune has been given many names among men. Her impartiality has been named Nemesis or Retributive Justice; her obscurity, Elpis or Hope; her inevitability, Moira or Fate; her righteousness, Themis or Law—truly a deity of many names and many ways. Farmers have given her the name Demeter; shepherds Pan; sailors Leucothea; pilots Dioscuri.[8]

[4] Nauck, *T.G.F.*, adesp. 125.

[5] Called the Horn of Amaltheia in Or. 63. 7.

[6] For the carefree life of the Cyclopes see *Odyssey* 9. 106-111.

[7] According to Apollodorus (epitome 2. 1), Tantalus, mythical king of Phrygia, was punished for presumption, not for idleness.

[8] Tutelary deities of these respective callings.

ῥεῖα δ' ἀρίζηλον μινύθει καὶ ἄδηλον ἀέξει,
ῥεῖα δέ τ' ἰθύνει σκολιὸν καὶ ἀγήνορα κάρφει.

9 τοῦτο ἄρα ἦν ὁ Ζεύς,[1] κατέχων μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς τὸ ὅπλον, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς τὸ σκῆπτρον, ὅτι τοῖς πολεμικοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ βασιλείαν δίδωσιν.

Εἶτα Εὐριπίδης τὸν ναύτην μέμφεται

ἀωρὶ πόντου κύματ' εὐρέος περῶντα·

καὶ διὰ τῶν ἑξῆς ἐπιτιμᾷ λέγων ὅτι

σμικραῖς ἐπιτρέπουσιν αὑτοὺς ἐλπίσιν.

10 ὦ παῖ Μνησαρχίδου, ποιητὴς μὲν[2] ἦσθα, σοφὸς δὲ οὐδαμῶς. οὔτε γὰρ πίττῃ[3] τὴν ψυχὴν οὔτε σχοινίοις ἐπιτρέπουσιν οὐδὲ[4] τριδάκτυλον αὑτοὺς σῴζει ξύλον πεύκινον, ἀλλ' ἐπέτρεψαν βεβαίῳ καὶ μεγάλῳ πράγματι, τῇ τύχῃ. ἀσθενὲς μὲν πλοῦτος, ἂν τύχη μὴ παρῇ, ἀβέβαιον δὲ φιλία μὴ συλλαμβανούσης τύχης. αὕτη σῴζει καὶ τὸν νοσοῦντα ἐν τῷ τέλει[5] καὶ τὸν νηχόμενον ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ἐπὶ τῶν χιλίων νεῶν καὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα ἐπὶ

11 τῆς σχεδίας φερόμενον. τί δέδοικας, ὦ δειλέ; τὸ μῆκος τῆς θαλάσσης φοβῇ; ὄψεται μέν σε ὁ Ποσειδῶν καὶ παρακαλέσει τοὺς ἀνέμους καὶ τὴν τρίαιναν λήψεται καὶ πάσας ὀροθυνεῖ τὰς ἀέλλας, οὐκ ἀποκτενεῖ δὲ σέ· ἡ τύχη γὰρ οὐ βούλεται.

[1] After Ζεύς Arnim deletes ἡ τύχη.
[2] μὲν Valckenaer: μὲν μόνον or μόνον.
[3] οὔτε γὰρ πίττῃ Emperius: οὐδὲ γὰρ πίττῃ UB, οὐδ' ἐπίστῃ PH, οὐδ' ἐπιστήμων M.

With ease the eminent he curbs, the meek
Exalts, makes straight the crooked, blasts the proud.[1]

This refers, of course, to Zeus, holding in his right hand his weapon [2] and in his left his sceptre, for the reason that to martial men he gives kingship too.

Furthermore, Euripides censures the sailor

Untimely seeking to cross the broad sea's waves [3];

he also utters reproof in the following, when he says

To slender hopes do they entrust themselves.

O son of Mnesarchides,[4] you were a poet, to be sure, yet not at all wise! For they entrust their lives to neither pitch nor ropes, nor is it a two-inch plank of pine that keeps them safe; nay, they entrust them to a sure and mighty thing, Fortune. A weak thing is wealth unless accompanied by Fortune; an uncertain thing is friendship unless Fortune bears a hand. She preserves alike the sick man in his extremity, the swimmer amidst the waves, Agamemnon sailing with his thousand ships, and Odysseus drifting on his raft. What dost thou fear, thou craven? Dost fear the vastness of the sea? Poseidon, indeed, will spy thee, summon his winds, seize his trident, and stir up all the blasts; yet he will not slay thee, for Fortune wills it not.

[1] Hesiod, *Works and Days* 6-7.
[2] The thunderbolt. Zeus is here viewed as a form of Fortune.
[3] For this and the following verse see Nauck, *T.G.F.*, Euripides, frag. 921.
[4] The reference is to Euripides.

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[4] οὐδὲ Crosby: οὔτε.
[5] τέλει] λέχει Casaubon.

*οὕτως νῦν κακὰ πολλὰ παθὼν ἀλόω κατὰ πόντον,*
*εἰσόκεν ἀνθρώποισι διοτρεφέεσσι μιγείης.*

θεοῦ λόγος ὑπὸ τύχης νενικημένου.

12 Αὕτη καὶ τὸ[1] τῶν ὑμετέρων προγόνων[2] ἀρχαῖον γένος, τῶν αὐτοχθόνων καὶ πρώτων Ἀθηναίων, μητέρα μὲν τὴν γῆν αὐχοῦντας,[3] τροφὸν δὲ τὴν Δήμητραν, ἐπώνυμον δὲ καὶ σύμμαχον τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, τὸ μὲν[4] πρῶτον τῶν Ἀθηνῶν εἰς Εὔβοιαν ἐξήγαγεν· ὡς δ'[5] ἐκεῖ μένοντας αὐτοὺς οὔτε ἡ θάλασσα τέρπειν οὔτε ἡ γῆ τρέφειν ἐδύνατο, καὶ οὐδὲ τὸ αἰσχρὸν ἔφερον τοῦ πράγματος, ἀντ' ἠπειρωτῶν νησιῶται γενόμενοι, δεύτερον ἡ τύχη κρεῖσ-
13 σον ἐβουλεύσατο. σεμνὴ μὲν γὰρ Εὔβοια ὡς ἀληθῶς· ἀλλὰ τίς ὑμῶν[6] φέρειν ἠδύνατο γῆν[7] τραχεῖαν κατοικῶν ἢ θαλάσσῃ στενῇ παροικῶν καὶ πολλὰς ἀνεχόμενος τῶν πραγμάτων μεταβολάς, τῶν ἐν τῷ ῥεύματι γιγνομένων πλείονας; νῦν Βοιωτοὺς ἔδει φέρειν καὶ τὴν Θηβαίων ἀναισθησίαν, εἶτα Ἀθηναίους, οὐκέτι ὡς παισὶν ὑμῖν, ἀλλ' ὡς δούλοις χρωμένους. διὰ τοῦτο ἀγαγοῦσα ἐνθάδε ἵδρυσε, τῇ ἑτέρᾳ μὲν[8] τῶν χειρῶν μηχανωμένη τε τὸν πλοῦν καὶ κατιθύνουσα, τῇ[9] δὲ τοὺς καρποὺς ἀφθόνως διδοῦσά τε καὶ δωρουμένη.

[1] Αὕτη καὶ τὸ Emperius : *αὐτηι· τούτων καὶ* UB, *αὕτη τούτων καὶ* MP, *αὐτῇ τούτων καὶ* H.
[2] After *προγόνων* Emperius deletes *ἦν*.
[3] *αὐχοῦντας*] *αὐχοῦν* or *αὐχούντων* Reiske.
[4] After *μὲν* Emperius deletes *γὰρ*.
[5] *ὡς* δ' Selden : *ὥστ'*.
[6] *ὑμῶν* Emperius : *ἡμῶν*.
[7] *γῆν* Reiske : *τήν*.
[8] *ἵδρυσε, τῇ ἑτέρᾳ μὲν* Jacobs : *ἵδρυσε τεταμένων*.
[9] *τῇ* Valesius : *τῆς*.

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[1] *Odyssey* 5. 377-378; spoken by Poseidon to Odysseus after the loss of his raft.

Thus do thou wander now upon the deep,
With many an evil mischance, till the day
When thou dost meet with men beloved of Zeus.[1]

An utterance of a god vanquished by Fortune!

What is more, the ancient stock of your ancestors, those autochthonous and earliest Athenians who boasted the soil as mother, Demeter as nurse, and Athena as namesake and ally, Fortune first led forth from Athens to Euboea; but since if they remained there the sea could not please them nor the land support, and since also they could not endure the disgrace of what had happened, their having turned islanders instead of occupants of the mainland, Fortune made a second and a better plan. For though Euboea is truly a venerable island, still who among you ever was able to endure dwelling in a rugged land,[2] or being neighbour to narrow waters and subjected to many shifts of condition, more numerous than the shifts of current in the strait?[3] At one moment you must needs endure the Boeotians and the stupidity of the Thebans,[4] and the next it was the Athenians, who treated you no longer as sons, but rather as slaves. So it came to pass that the goddess took and established you here,[5] with one of her hands contriving and directing the voyage, and with the other abundantly providing and bestowing her fruits.

[2] Euboea is conspicuous for its lofty mountains, yet it afforded good pasturage for Athenian cattle.

[3] The Euripus, which separates Euboea from the mainland, is so narrow that it was bridged even in antiquity. Its current is very swift and changes direction frequently.

[4] Theban stupidity was a byword with Attic writers. Chalcis, which led in the founding of Cumae, the forerunner of Naples, faced Boeotia across the Euripus.

[5] Presumably Naples; cf. Introduction.

Τὴν μὲν οὖν τῶν λοιπῶν γνώμην εἰκάσαι χαλεπόν
14 ἐστιν. ἐγὼ δέ, ὦ τύχη· πρὸς σὲ γὰρ δικαίως ἂν ἴσως ῥηθείη ὁ λόγος· εἴ μέ τις ὑψηλὸν ἄρας ἄγοι[1] μετέωρον ἐπί τινων ἢ Πηγάσου νώτων ἢ Πέλοπος πτηνῶν[2] ἁρμάτων ὑποτείνων[3] τὴν γῆν ἅπασαν καὶ τὰς πόλεις, οὐκ ἂν τὴν Λυδῶν ἑλοίμην τρυφὴν οὔτ' εὐτέλειαν τὴν Ἀττικὴν οὔτε πενίαν τὴν[4] Λακωνικὴν οὔτε Κρότωνα[5] οὔτε Σύβαριν, ὅτι οὐ πονοῦσιν, οὔτε Σκύθας, ὅτι οὐ γεωργοῦσιν, οὔτε Αἰγυπτίους, ὅτι ἄλλοις γεωργοῦσιν·

15 καὶ Λιβύην, ὅθι τ' ἄρνες ἄφαρ κεραοὶ τελέθουσιν·

εὐτυχία ποιμένων. οὐ Θήβας Αἰγυπτίας,

αἵθ' ἑκατόμπυλοί εἰσι, διηκόσιοι δ' ἀν' ἑκάστην
ἀνέρες ἐξοιχνεῦσι σὺν ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφιν·

ἱπποκόμων βίος καὶ πυλωρῶν.

Δήλῳ δή ποτε τοῖον Ἀπόλλωνος παρὰ βωμῷ·

οὐκ ἀρκεῖ μοι βωμὸς θύειν οὐκ ἔχοντι, οὐκ ἀρκεῖ μοι φυτὰ τρέφειν με μὴ δυνάμενα.

τρηχεῖ', ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ κουροτρόφος·

οὔτε τραχεῖα αὔτη καὶ κουροτρόφος·

1 ἄγοι Arnim : ἄνω. 2 πτηνῶν deleted by Jacobs.
3 ὑποτείνων Emperius, ὑποκλίνων Jacobs : ὑποκινῶν.
4 τὴν added by Dindorf.
5 After Κρότωνα Dindorf deletes πένονται γάρ.

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1 The horses were winged. Pelops' horses were so depicted on the Chest of Cypselus; cf. Pausanias 5. 17. 7.
2 Pericles boasted φιλοκαλοῦμέν τε γὰρ μετ' εὐτελείας (Thucydides 2. 40).
3 Croton and Sybaris typify ancient wealth. Croton decayed after the Second Punic War and Sybaris was wiped out in 510 B.C.
4 They were nomads.

Now the idea in what yet remains to say it is difficult to portray. But as for me, O Mistress Fortune —for to thee, no doubt, my words would justly be addressed—if some one should raise me aloft and transport me through the sky, either, as it were, on the back of some Pegasus or in some winged car of Pelops,[1] offering me the whole earth and its cities, neither would I choose the luxury of Lydia or the thrift of Attica [2] or the meagre living of Laconia, nor would I choose Croton or Sybaris,[3] because they do not toil, or the Scythians, because they do not farm,[4] or the Egyptians, because they farm for others,[5]

> And Libya, where the lambs have horns at birth [6]—

a shepherd's heaven! No, I would not choose Egyptian Thebes,

> Which hath a hundred gates, and at each one
> Two hundred men go forth with chariots and steeds [7]—

a life for grooms and gate-keepers!

> In Delos such a tree I once did see
> Beside Apollo's altar [8]—

an altar does not satisfy my wants, since I have naught to sacrifice thereon; no more do trees, if they afford no food.

> 'Tis rugged, yet a goodly nurse of youth [9]—

this land [10] not only is not rugged but a nurse of youth besides.

[5] Egypt was the granary of the Mediterranean world.

[6] *Odyssey* 4. 85.

[7] *Iliad* 9. 383-384.

[8] *Odyssey* 6. 162. Odysseus is about to speak of the palm tree sacred to Apollo. Dates do not ripen so far north.

[9] *Ibid*. 9. 27; Odysseus' tribute to his native Ithaca.

[10] Naples; see Introduction.

16 δέσποιν' ἁπασῶν[1] πότνι' Ἀθηναίων πόλι·
μὴ λέγε, ἄνθρωπε. οὐκέτ' εἰσὶν ἐκεῖνοι δεσπόται.
ὡς καὶ καλόν σου φαίνεται τὸ νεώριον.
ἀλλὰ μεθ' Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ Λύσανδρον αἰσχρόν.
—καλὸς δ'[2] ὁ Πειραιεύς·
ἔτι γὰρ μετὰ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτὸν βλέπεις.
ἄλση δὲ τίς πω τοιάδ' ἔσχ' ἄλλη πόλις;[3]
εἶχε μέν, δῃωθεῖσα[4] δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς γυνὴ[5] ἀπεκείρατο.
καὶ τοὐρανοῦ γ', ὥς[6] φασιν, ἐστὶν ἐν καλῷ.
καὶ πῶς, οἵ γε λοιμώττουσι[7] καὶ νοσοῦσι καὶ[8] πλέον αὐτῶν ἀπόλλυται μέρος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀέρων ἢ τῶν πολεμίων;

17 Καὶ μή τις ἀχθέσθω διότι οὕτως τῶν πατέρων ἐμνημόνευσα. τῶν μὲν γὰρ πρωτείων οὐκ ἂν[9] ἄλλως τύχοιμεν μὴ τοῖς πρώτοις ἁμιλλώμενοι. ἀλλὰ καὶ παλαιός τις στρατιώτης ὡς γεγονὼς τοῦ πατρὸς κρείσσων ἐσεμνύνετο, καὶ οὐδὲ Ἀθηναίοις αἰσχρὸν πατράσιν οὖσιν ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων ἡττωμένοις. τῆς γὰρ ὑμετέρας μεθέξουσιν ἀρετῆς κατὰ τὴν αὑτῶν ἐλαττούμενοι. πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἂν εἰδείητε

[1] δέσποιν' ἁπασῶν Meineke: δέσποινα δ' ἁπασῶν or δέσποινα δ' ἁπασῶν ποι or δέσποινα δ' ἁπασῶν πόλεων.
[2] δ' Valckenaer: δὲ. [3] πόλις Porson: γυνή.
[4] δῃωθεῖσα Valckenaer: δὴ σωθεῖσα.
[5] γυνὴ added by Dindorf.
[6] γ', ὥς Reiske: πῶς or πως.
[7] λοιμώττουσι Dindorf: λιμώττουσι.
[8] After καὶ Arnim deletes τὸ. [9] ἂν added by Emperius.

[1] Kock, *C.A.F.*, adesp. 340. It has been suggested that this and the next four verses are from the *Demes* of Eupolis.

## THE SIXTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE

O Athens, august mistress of them all ! [1]

Say not so, fellow : those Athenians no more are masters.

How beauteous too thy shipyard is to view.

Nay, rather say ugly, after the Hellespont and Lysander.[2]

Peiraeus is a lovely sight.[3]

Yes, for your mind's eye still sees it with its walls.[4]

What other city yet obtained such groves ! [5]

It did have, yes, but it was ravaged and, like a woman in her mourning, it had its tresses shorn.

For climate, so they say, 'tis nobly set.

Indeed ! how so, since they are subject to plague and sickness, and more of them are slain by their climate than by the foe ? [6]

Now let no one be vexed that I speak thus of his forebears. For we could not attain first rank in any other way than by competing with those who are first. Why, not only did a certain warrior of old take pride in having proved superior to his sire,[7] but even for the Athenians it is no disgrace, ancestors of ours though they be, to be outstript by their sons. For they will share your merit while being surpassed in their own. How, then, could you help being grate-

[2] Spartan Lysander destroyed the Athenian navy at Aegospotami.

[3] The first part of the verse read ὡς καλὸς ὁ Παρθενών, *How beautiful the Parthenon.*

[4] The walls were torn down after the Peloponnesian War.

[5] Kock, *ad loc. cit.*, refers this specially to the Academy.

[6] Possibly an allusion to the plague of 430 B.C. ; cf. Thucydides 2. 47-52.

[7] Sthenelus son of Capaneus : cf. *Iliad* 4. 405-410.

τούτων ἁπάντων τῇ τύχῃ τὴν χάριν καὶ τοῦ γένους, ὅτι Ἕλληνες,[1] καὶ τῆς μεταβολῆς, ὅτι ἐκ πενήτων εὐδαίμονες;[2] Σωκράτης γοῦν ἐπὶ πολλοῖς αὑτὸν ἐμακάριζε, καὶ ὅτι ζῷον λογικὸν καὶ
18 ὅτι Ἀθηναῖος.[3] Διογένης δὲ ὁ κύων ἀγροίκως καὶ τέλεον οὐ πολιτικῶς ηὔχει κατὰ[4] τῆς τύχης, ὡς[5] πολλὰ μὲν βέλη ἐφιείσης αὐτῷ ὡς σκοπῷ, τυχεῖν δὲ μὴ δυναμένης. οὐ φέρω θρασυνόμενον οὕτω φιλόσοφον. μὴ καταψεύδου τῆς τύχης· οὐ τοξεύει γάρ σε, ὅτι οὐ βούλεται· θελούσῃ δὲ τῇ τύχῃ πανταχοῦ ῥᾴδιον. καὶ τὰ μὲν σύντομα ἐκεῖνα οὐ λέγω τὰ Λακωνικά, τοὺς δουλεύοντας Πέρσαις καὶ τὸν ἐν Κορίνθῳ Διονύσιον καὶ τὴν Σωκράτους καταδίκην καὶ τὴν Ξενοφῶντος φυγὴν καὶ τὸν Φερεκύδους θάνατον καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν[6] τὴν Ἀναξάρχου[7]· ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ τούτου τοῦ χαλεποῦ σκοποῦ πόσοις ἔτυχε τοξεύμασιν; φυγάδα σε ἐποίησεν, εἰς Ἀθήνας ἤγαγεν, Ἀντισθένει προυξένησεν, εἰς Κρήτην ἐπώλησεν. εἰ δέ σοι τὸν τῦφον[8] βακτηρία καὶ πήρα περιτίθησι καὶ λεπτὸς καὶ ἀφελὴς βίος, ἴσθι

[1] *τοῦ γένους, ὅτι Ἕλληνες* Casaubon : *τοῦ γένους ὁ πελληνεύς* (or *παλληνεὺς*).
[2] *εὐδαίμονες* Emperius : *εὐδαιμόνησε*.
[3] After *Ἀθηναῖος* Arnim suspects a lacuna.
[4] *ηὔχει κατὰ* Dindorf, *εὔχετο κατὰ* Emperius : *εὐτύχει καίτοι*.
[5] *ὡς* added by Emperius.
[6] *εὐδαιμονίαν*] *δυσδαιμονίαν* Reiske.
[7] *Ἀναξάρχου* Reiske : *Ἀναξάνδρου*.
[8] *εἰ δέ σοι τὸν τῦφον* Emperius : *εἰ δὲ οἷον τυφλὸν* UBP, *εἰ δέοι τὸν τυφλὸν* M, *εἰ δὲ οἷον τὸν τυφλὸν* H.

[1] These phrases were doubtless hackneyed illustrations of Fortune's unfairness. On "Dionysius at Corinth" cf.

ful to Fortune for all this—both for parentage, in that you are Greek, and for your changed condition, in that, though once poor, you now are prosperous? Socrates, at any rate, counted himself fortunate for many reasons—not only because he was a rational being, but also because he was an Athenian. Diogenes the Cynic, on the other hand, with boorishness and downright discourtesy was wont to rail at Fortune, claiming that, though she shot many shafts with him as her target, she could not hit him. I cannot endure a philosopher's behaving so brazenly. Do not lie about Fortune, Diogenes, for the reason why she does not shoot you is that she has no wish to do so; on the contrary, if Fortune did wish it, she could easily hit you wherever you might be. While I do not use those "pithy laconic expressions"—slaves to the Persians, Dionysius at Corinth, Socrates' condemnation, Xenophon's exile, Pherecydes' death, luck of Anaxarchus [1]—still, let me ask you, with how many shafts has she hit this difficult mark itself? [2] She made you an exile; she brought you to Athens; she introduced you to Antisthenes [3]; she sold you into Crete. But if staff and wallet and a meagre, simple mode of living serve you as a cloak of affectation, you have Fortune

Or. 37. 19. Xenophon was exiled for his association with Cyrus, who had favoured Sparta in the Peloponnesian War; cf. *Anabasis* 3. 1. 5. Plutarch (*Pelopidas* 21) says of this Pherecydes that he was slain by the Spartans in accordance with an oracle and thereafter his skin was carefully guarded by the Spartan kings. Anaxarchus of Abdera, a Democritean philosopher, favoured by Alexander the great, won the sobriquet εὐδαιμονικός, but later he suffered the tragic end referred to in Or. 37. 45.

[2] Diogenes.

[3] Pupil of Socrates and founder of the Cynic School.

καὶ τούτων τῇ τύχῃ τὴν χάριν· κατὰ τύχην γὰρ φιλοσοφεῖς.

19 Ἦν δὲ καὶ Τιμόθεος Ἀθηναίων στρατηγός, ὃς πάντα εὐτύχει καὶ σκωπτόμενος οὐκ ἠνείχετο, καί ποτέ τι καὶ κατὰ τῆς τύχης ἐθρασύνετο καὶ πάλιν δυστυχεῖν ἤρξατο. τίς ἄν ποτε ἤλπισεν Ἰνδῶν ἄρξειν κουρέα,[1] Λυδῶν βασιλεύσειν ποιμένα, τῆς Ἀσίας ἡγεμονεύσειν γυναῖκα; ὅτι τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἀποκτενεῖ χιτὼν καὶ γυνή, ὅτι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον δοῦλος[2] καὶ κύλιξ; ἔχει γὰρ ἐν αὑτῇ πλεῖστον ἀεὶ τὸ βασιλικόν,[3] καὶ τοὺς παρὰ φύσιν δ' ἐπαιρομένους καθαιρεῖ. πολλὰ γοῦν Ἀλέξανδρος τολμηρὰ ἔπρασ-
20 σεν—οὐκ ἔφερεν υἱὸς Φιλίππου λεγόμενος, τοῦ Διὸς κατεψεύδετο, τῶν Διοσκόρων κατεφρόνει, τὸν Διόνυσον ἐλοιδόρει, καίτοι γε ἀφθόνως οὕτως αὐτοῦ τοῖς δώροις χρώμενος. ἀπέκτεινε δὲ καὶ Κλεῖτον τὸν σωτῆρα[4] καὶ Φιλώταν τὸν καλὸν καὶ τὸν γέροντα[5] Παρμενίωνα καὶ τὸν διδάσκαλον Καλλισθένην καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην ἐμέλλησε καὶ Ἀντίπατρον ἐβουλεύσατο. τοιγαροῦν ζῶντα αὐτὸν

[1] κουρέα Valesius: οὐρέα or ὀρέα.
[2] δοῦλος] Ἰόλας Casaubon.
[3] πλεῖστον ἀεὶ τὸ βασιλικόν] πλεῖον κῦρος ἀεὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ Arnim.
[4] σωτῆρα Capps: σοφόν.
[5] γέροντα Valesius: γείτονα.

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[1] Famous Athenian of the fourth century B.C. Maligned by a colleague, he fled to Euboea, where he died shortly after.
[2] Angrammes. Quintus Curtius (9. 2. 6-7) calls him son of a barber.
[3] Gyges; cf. Plato, *Republic* 359 C—360 B.
[4] Semiramis.
[5] The story is told by Sophocles in his *Trachiniae*: cf. Or. 60.

to thank even for these things, for it is by grace of Fortune that you practise philosophy.

Again, there was once an Athenian general, Timotheüs,[1] who was fortunate in everything and could not stand being made the butt of jokes; and one day he committed some act of effrontery against Fortune, and in turn he began to be unfortunate. Who would ever have expected that a barber would become ruler of the Indians[2]; that a shepherd would become king of the Lydians[3]; that a woman would become leader of Asia[4]; that a tunic and a woman would cause the death of Heracles[5]; that a slave and a goblet would cause the death of Alexander?[6] The explanation is that Fortune has within herself the essence of royalty ever in fullest measure, and she destroys those who exalt themselves unduly. For instance, Alexander did many daring things—he could not stand being called the son of Philip; he lied about Zeus[7]; he scorned the Dioscuri; he abused Dionysus, though indulging so lavishly in that god's gifts. Moreover, he slew his saviour Cleitus, the handsome Philotas, the aged Parmenion, his teacher Callisthenes; he aimed to slay Aristotle and had planned the death of Antipater.[8] Therefore

[6] Plutarch (*Alexander* 76-77) says he died of a fever, not of poison.

[7] Olympias is said to have told him that Zeus was his father, and the priest of Ammon hailed him as *paidios*, either "son of Zeus," παῖ Διός, or an Egyptian blunder for *paidion*, "son." On at least one occasion he is said to have resented doubts as to Philip's fatherhood.

[8] Cleitus, Philotas, and Parmenion were his generals. Plutarch reports their murder and that of Callisthenes, but he is less clear as to Alexander's plans concerning Aristotle and Antipater, the aged Macedonian whom he had left in charge of European affairs.

21 ὁμολογεῖν ἠνάγκασεν ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ἦν. τρωθεὶς γοῦν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, Ἀλλὰ τοῦτό γε οὐκ ἰχὼρ ἐστιν, ἔφη, τὸ ῥέον, ἀλλὰ αἷμα ἀληθινόν.[1] ἀποθνήσκων δὲ καὶ πάνυ ὡμολόγησε μεγάλην τινὰ οὖσαν καὶ ἀνίκητον ὡς ἀληθῶς τὴν τύχην. ἐκεῖνος γοῦν[1] ἐκφυγὼν καὶ τὸ Θηβαίων ὁπλιτικὸν καὶ τὸ Θεσσαλῶν ἱππικὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀκοντιστὰς Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ τοὺς μαχαιροφόρους Θρᾷκας καὶ τοὺς μαχίμους Πέρσας καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀμάχων Μήδων γένος καὶ ὄρη μεγάλα καὶ ποταμοὺς ἀδιαβάτους[2] καὶ κρημνοὺς ἀνυπερβάτους καὶ Δαρεῖον καὶ Πῶρον[2] καὶ πολλὰ ἄλλα ἐθνῶν καὶ βασιλέων ὀνόματα, ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἄνευ μάχης καὶ τραυμάτων ὁ στρατιώτης ἔθνῃσκε.

22 Τί δὲ δεῖ λέγειν τοὺς διαδεξαμένους τὴν βασιλείαν ἢ τοὺς ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνοις γενομένους καὶ τὰ ἀλαζονικὰ αὐτῶν ὀνόματα, κεραυνοὺς καὶ πολιορκητὰς καὶ ἀετοὺς καὶ θεούς;[3] ὧν τὸν μὲν ὁ θάνατος ἤλεγξεν· ὁ δὲ ὑψηλοτέραν εὗρε τὴν τύχην, καίτοι πεζὴν[3] δοκῶν· ὁ δὲ πολιορκητὴς Δημήτριος αἰχμάλωτος γενόμενος ἐξ οἴνου καὶ μέθης ἀτίμως ἀπέθανεν, ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης πολιορκούμενος. τί οὖν οἱ τύραννοι μέγα φρονοῦσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς τείχεσι; τί δὲ Ἀμφίων ᾄδει; τί δὲ Δηιόκης πονεῖ; τί δὲ Σεμίραμις οἰκοδομεῖ; τί δὲ ὁ Ἀπόλλων μισθαρνεῖ; τί δὲ μετὰ τοῦ λέοντος Μήλης τὸ τεῖχος

[1] After γοῦν Arnim adds ὁ.
[2] ἀδιαβάτους deleted by Arnim.
[3] πεζὴν Emperius : παίζειν.

[1] Cf. Plutarch, *Alexander* 28.
[2] An Indian prince subdued by Alexander.
[3] The first of these "braggart titles" would refer to either the elder son of Ptolemy Soter or Seleucus III; the remaining three refer respectively to Demetrius, Pyrrhus, and

Fortune made him while yet alive admit that he was a human being. At any rate when he had been wounded he said to his friends, "Why, this fluid which I behold is not ichor but real blood!"[1] But by his dying he admitted fully that Fortune is a mighty being and truly invincible. At any rate after escaping from the Theban hoplites, the Thessalian cavalry, the Aetolian javelin-throwers, the Thracians with their daggers, the martial Persians, the tribe of irresistible Medes, from lofty mountains, impassable rivers, unscalable cliffs, from Darius, Porus,[2] and many other tribes and kings I might name, yet in Babylon, remote from battle and from wounds, our warrior died!

But what should one say of those who took over his empire, or of those who followed after them, with their braggart titles[3]—Thunderbolts, Takers-of-cities, Eagles, Gods? One of the lot death proved mistaken: another found Fortune to be a loftier being than himself, though he had considered her pedestrian; our Taker-of-cities, Demetrius, was taken captive and died a shameful death from wine and drunkenness, beleagured as he was by Fortune! Why, then, are tyrants proud of their ramparts? Why does Amphion sing,[4] Deïoces toil,[5] Semiramis build,[6] Apollo work for hire,[7] Meles encompass the

Antiochus II. Their fortunes are sketched, in reverse order, in the following sentence.

[4] At his music the stones for the walls of Thebes moved into place.

[5] Founder of the Median empire: cf. Herodotus 1. 96-100.

[6] Cf. § 2 and note.

[7] Apollo served more than one mortal, but the reference to Troy points to his serving Laomedon in building the walls of that city.

περιέρχεται; κρατήσει γὰρ Μήδων Κῦρος καὶ Βαβυλωνίων Ζώπυρος καὶ Σάρδεων Μάρδος[1] καὶ Τροίας ὁ ἵππος.

23 Μεγάλη γὰρ ῥοπή, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ[2] ὅλον, εἶπέ τις, ἡ τύχη. αὕτη καὶ Πίνδαρον εὗρεν ἐκκείμενον ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ καὶ Τήλεφον ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς Ῥωμαίων ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ· καὶ τῷ μὲν ἔπεμψε μελίττας, τοῖς δὲ ποιμένας, Τηλέφῳ δὲ ἔλαφον, Κύρῳ δὲ ἢ κύνα ἢ γυναῖκα. Εὐμένης ἦν ἁμαξέως υἱός, ἀλλ' ὅμως βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο, Ἡρακλῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου παῖς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐβασίλευσεν· ἄταφος γοῦν Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐκομίσθη, καὶ πενθήσασα αὐτὸν
24 καὶ αὐτὴ ἐτελεύτησεν ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ θεοῦ. Δαρείου δὲ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον προσεκύνησε καί, τὸ ἀτιμότερον, Ἡφαιστίωνα. τί δὲ ὁ Λιβύων βασιλεύς; οὐ πεντακοσίας μὲν πόλεις Ῥωμαίων ἐπόρθησεν; ἐπάρας δὲ τὸν χιτῶνα τὸν[3] αὑτοῦ τοῖς πολίταις ἔδειξε Ῥωμαϊκῶν σφραγίδων ἀνάπλεων, ὧν ἑκάστην εἶχεν ἀπὸ πολεμίων σκῦλον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεφονευμένων; ταῦτα δὲ πάντα δράσας ἀτίμως

[1] Μάρδος Valesius: μαρδόνιος or μαρδώνιος.
[2] τὸ added by Emperius.
[3] τὸν added by Dindorf.

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[1] Meles, king of Sardis, had a concubine who bore him a lion. An oracle said that Sardis would be safe if he carried the lion around the citadel, but he neglected a spot where the rock was sheer, and so the Mardian Hyroeades took the city; cf. Herodotus 1. 84.
[2] Zopyrus took Babylon for Darius; cf. Herodotus 3. 151-158.
[3] A quotation from Demosthenes, *Olynthiac* 2. 22.
[4] Photius says a bee dropped honey on Pindar's lips as

wall with his lion?[1] For Cyrus will master the Medes, Zopyrus the Babylonians,[2] a Mardian Sardis, and the horse Troy!

Yes, as some one has put it, Fortune is a great weight in the scales, or rather the whole thing.[3] She found the infant Pindar lying exposed in Boeotia, Telephus in Arcadia, the kings of Rome in Italy; and to Pindar she sent honey-bees,[4] to the kings of Rome shepherds,[5] to Telephus a deer,[6] and to Cyrus either a dog or a woman.[7] Eumenes was a wagoner's son, but for all that he became king[8]; Heracles was Alexander's son, yet he did not become king[9]; in fact, his body, denied the rites of burial, was brought to Olympias, and after mourning for him she too died, a god's mother, forsooth! Moreover, the mother of Darius made obeisance, not merely to Alexander, but, what is more disgraceful, to Hephaestion.[10] What about the king of the Libyans? Did he not sack five hundred cities of the Romans? Did he not lift up his tunic and display it to his fellow townsmen filled with Roman finger rings, each of which he had as loot from foes he had slaughtered? Yet after he had done all this he met an ignominious

he lay asleep on Helicon. Similar tales were told of other Greeks. [5] The familiar tale of Romulus and Remus.

[6] Telephus, son of Heracles, was exposed on Mt. Parthenium.

[7] Herodotus (1. 110-113) says the wife of his rescuer was named Spako, which meant Dog.

[8] He became governor, not king, of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia after Alexander's death; cf. Plutarch, *Eumenes* 1.

[9] Son of Alexander by Barsinê, he was murdered by Polyperchon; cf. Diodorus 20. 28.

[10] One of Alexander's generals. Mistaken for Alexander according to Curtius, *Hist. Alex.* iii. 12. 16 f.

ἀπέθανε, μάτην πολλὰ φιλονεικήσας πρὸς τὴν τύχην.

25 Διόπερ μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὰ μεγάλα[1] πάντα τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιτρέπειν τῇ τύχῃ, κληρωτὰς τὰς[2] ἀρχὰς καὶ στρατηγίας ποιούμενοι· καὶ ἀδελφοὶ κτῆσιν αὑτῶν οὕτως διανέμονται. ἔδει δὲ ἄρα καὶ τὸν Πολυνείκην, εἴπερ καλῶς ἐβουλεύετο, κλήρῳ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν περὶ τῆς βασιλείας λαχεῖν· νυνὶ δὲ αὐτός τε ἀπέθανε καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν προσαπώλεσεν, ἡλικίᾳ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐπιτρέψας, οὐ τύχῃ.

26 κλήρῳ νῦν πεπάλαχθε διαμπερές, ὅς κε λάχῃσιν.
οὗτος γὰρ δὴ ὀνήσει ἐϋκνήμιδας Ἀχαιούς·

καὶ ὤνησε λαχών· ὁ δὲ Ἕκτωρ ἡττήθη γνώμῃ πιστεύσας, οὐ[3] τύχῃ.

δοιοὶ γάρ τε πίθοι κατακείαται ἐν Διὸς οὔδει.

θησαυροὶ μὲν εἰς ἀνθρώπους οὗτοι παρὰ θεοῖς· ταμιεύει δὲ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἡ τύχη καὶ ῥήτορι καὶ στρατηγῷ καὶ πένητι καὶ πλουσίῳ καὶ
27 πρεσβύτῃ καὶ νέῳ. Κροίσῳ δίδωσι χρυσόν, Καν-

[1] μεγάλα Selden : μὲν ἄλλα. [2] τὰς added by Dindorf.
[3] οὐ Emperius : ἤ.

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[1] Our author must have Hannibal in mind. However, his data do not square completely with common tradition. Appian says Hannibal sacked 400 cities; and it was his brother Mago, according to Livy (23. 12), who after the battle of Cannae dumped the signet rings at the entrance to the senate house in Carthage. Hannibal committed suicide when Prusias, king of Bithynia, was about to surrender him to the Romans.

death, having contended much with Fortune all in vain.[1]

This, it seems to me, is why men entrust all their important matters to Fortune, making their public offices and generalships subject to allotment[2]: brothers also divide their patrimony in that way. And so Polyneices too, if indeed he had been well advised, ought to have drawn lots with his brother for the throne; but as it was, not only was he himself slain, he destroyed his brother as well, all because he referred the matter to priority of birth and not to Fortune.[3]

> Now shake the lot in turn and see who draws;
> For the well-greaved Achaeans he will aid[4]—

and, having drawn, aid he did; however, Hector was defeated because he trusted to judgement and not to Fortune.

> For on his threshold Zeus has set two jars.[5]

These are storage jars for mankind in the keeping of the gods; however, it is Fortune who administers them with regard to what is allotted—to orator or to general, to rich or poor, to old or young. To Croesus she gives gold, to Candaules a wife,[6] to

[2] Most Athenian offices were filled by lot, but not that of general.

[3] Polyneices and Eteocles were sons of Oedipus, king of Thebes. Aeschylus tells the tale in his *Seven against Thebes*.

[4] *Iliad* 7. 171-172; spoken by Nestor as the Greeks were choosing a champion to oppose Hector. The lot fell to Ajax.

[5] *Ibid.* 24. 527.

[6] Herodotus (1. 7-12) tells of the infatuation of Candaules for his wife that caused his death and the transfer of the throne to Gyges.

δαύλῃ γυναῖκα, Πηλεῖ ξίφος, Νέστορι ἀσπίδα, Πτερέλᾳ[1] κόμην χρυσῆν, Νίσῳ πλόκαμον πορφυροῦν, Ἀλκιβιάδῃ κάλλος, Σωκράτει[2] φρόνησιν, Ἀριστείδῃ δικαιοσύνην, Λακεδαιμονίοις γῆν, Ἀθηναίοις[3] θάλατταν. εἶτα ἐν μέρει τούτων μὲν ἀφείλετο, ἄλλοις δὲ ἔδωκεν. καὶ οὐδέν μοι δοκεῖ ὁ βίος τῶν ἀνθρώπων πομπῆς διαφέρειν ἐν ταῖς ἡμερησίαις[4] μεταβολαῖς.

[1] Πτερέλᾳ Valesius : πτερίλα or πτερίλᾳ.
[2] After Σωκράτει Emperius deletes δὲ.
[3] γῆν, Ἀθηναίοις Dindorf : τὴν Ἀθηναίων.
[4] ἡμερησίαις Emperius : ἡμετέραις.

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[1] When Peleus was a fugitive on Pelium, Hephaestus brought him a sword with which to ward off wild beasts.
[2] Nestor's shield is shrouded in mystery. It is referred to only once in classical literature (*Iliad* 8. 192-193).

Peleus a sword,[1] to Nestor a shield,[2] to Pterelas golden locks,[3] to Nisus a purple tress,[4] to Alcibiades beauty, to Socrates wisdom, to Aristeides uprightness, to Spartans land, to Athenians a sea. Then in turn she takes from these and gives to others. And it seems to me that the life of man in its daily vicissitudes is in no wise different from a procession.[5]

[3] According to Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 2. 4. 5, a grandson of Poseidon named Pterelaüs (*sic*) was made immortal by the gift of a strand of golden hair.

[4] Nisus, king of Megara, had a purple hair on which his life depended. His daughter Scylla plucked it out for love of his enemy, Minos of Crete; cf. Apollodorus, *op. cit.* 3. 15. 8.

[5] The simile of the procession perhaps has reference to the temporary dignity with which some of the participants were clothed. That the speech ends thus abruptly, without elaboration of the simile, suggests that we have it in an unfinished state.

# THE SIXTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE: ON FORTUNE (III)

This essay deals with the injustice of human behaviour with respect to Fortune. Unlike the two essays on Fortune which precede it, there seems to be no good reason to doubt its authenticity; yet there are signs which suggest that its present form is not that in which it was composed. The author seems to repeat himself to an extent not to be expected in so brief a composition. Besides, one misses from time to time those particles and formulas commonly employed by Dio and other Greek writers to indicate transition and to knit together the argument, *e.g.*, at the beginning of the new paragraph in § 7 and at the beginning of §§ 8, 10, and 13. On the other hand, the γὰρ which is found in the beginning of the new paragraph in § 4 seems so unwarranted in that setting that Wilamowitz proposed to strike it out. In view of these phenomena it is not unlikely that we have before us, not one unified composition, but rather a collection of passages drawn from various contexts and here put together because of their common theme. It is possible that Dio's editor desired thus to preserve passages in writings now lost to us which he deemed noteworthy; though Dio himself may for his own convenience have grouped together paragraphs on related topics. It is worth noting that the passages that have been cited as marked by asyndeton have the earmarks of prooemia. For a fuller discussion of the general problem see von Arnim, *Dio von Prusa* 268-271.

## 65. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΥΧΗΣ ΤΡΙΤΟΣ

1 Οἱ σφόδρα τῇ τύχῃ πεπιστευκότες καὶ τῇ παρουσίᾳ ταύτης ἐπαιρόμενοι δοκοῦσί μοι κάλλιστα συνηγορεῖν αὐτῇ καὶ παρασκευάζειν ὅπως, ἐπειδὰν μεταπέσῃ, μηδεὶς αὐτῇ μέμφηται. τοὐναντίον γὰρ ἅπαντες τῇ βαρύτητι τῶν εὐτυχούντων δυσχεραίνοντες καὶ τὴν ὕβριν αὐτῶν μεμισηκότες, ὅταν καταλίπῃ τινὰ αὐτῶν, ἐπαινοῦσι καί φασι δικαίαν αὐτοῖς γεγονέναι τὴν μεταβολήν. δεῖ δὲ τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας οὕτως χρῆσθαι τοῖς αὐτομάτοις ἀγαθοῖς ὥστε ὑπαρχόντων μὲν αὐτῶν μηδένα ἐγκαλεῖν,
2 ἐὰν δὲ παύσηταί ποτε, μηδένα ἐφήδεσθαι. τῷ παντὶ γὰρ κρεῖττόν ἐστιν ἐνδεῶς πράττοντα ἀγαπᾶσθαι καὶ δοκεῖν πᾶσι παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἀπαλλάττειν ἢ τοὐναντίον εὐτυχοῦντα μισεῖσθαι καὶ προσέτι καὶ τῇ τύχῃ γίγνεσθαι βλασφημίας αἴτιον ὡς τοὺς πονηροὺς ἀντὶ τῶν χρηστῶν εὐεργετεῖν προαιρουμένῃ. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς βαρέως χρωμένους τοῖς ἐκ τῆς τύχης ὑπάρχουσι πονηροὺς μὲν εἶναί φασι καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀναξίους, οὐ μὴν ἀτυχεῖς γε εἰώθασι λέγειν· ἐμοὶ δὲ τοὐναντίον οὗτοι δοκοῦσι πάντων ἀτυχέστατοι
3 καθεστηκέναι. τὸ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν νομιζομένων

# THE SIXTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE: ON FORTUNE (III)

Those who have relied greatly on Fortune and are elated by her presence are, it seems to me, her most effective advocates and insure that, whenever she does shift, no one shall blame her for it. For, on the contrary, all men, being disgusted at the offensiveness of those who enjoy good fortune and having come to hate their insolence, as soon as Fortune abandons any of these, applaud and declare that the change of fortune they have experienced is deserved. Nay, men of intelligence should so employ the blessings which come to them unearned that, while they last, no one may censure them and, if some day they come to an end, no one may rejoice thereat. For it is altogether better that one should be in straitened circumstances but well liked, and that he should be thought by all to be getting less than his deserts, than, on the contrary, that he should be prosperous but hated, and, besides, become the occasion for blasphemous railing at Fortune as preferring to benefit the wicked rather than the good. Now though most men say that those who are obnoxious in their use of the gifts of Fortune are wicked and unworthy of their blessings, they assuredly do not as a rule call them unfortunate; yet to me, on the contrary, such persons seem to have become the most unfortunate of all. For when from what commonly are deemed

ἀγαθῶν μηδενὸς χρηστοῦ, βλασφημίας δὲ καὶ
μίσους ἀπολαύειν πρὸς τῷ τὴν αὑτοῦ κακίαν
γνωριμωτέραν πᾶσι ποιεῖν, πῶς οὐχὶ μεγάλη καὶ
φανερὰ δυστυχία; διόπερ, οἶμαι, τοῖς ἀνοήτοις
λυσιτελεῖ τῷ παντὶ μᾶλλον ἐνδεῶς πράττειν καὶ
μήτε ἐξουσίας μήτε πλούτου μήτε τῶν τοιούτων
μηδενὸς τυγχάνειν. ταπεινοὶ μὲν γὰρ ὄντες
λανθάνειν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἔμελλον ὁποῖοι κατὰ
τρόπον[1] ὑπάρχουσιν, ἀρθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης
4 ἐπίσημον τὴν πονηρίαν ἔσχον. ὥσπερ οὖν τοῖς
τὸ σῶμα φαύλως διακειμένοις βέλτιον καθ᾽ αὑτοὺς
ἀποδύεσθαι καὶ μηδέποτε εἰς τὸ κοινόν, ὅπως
μηδένα ἔχωσι τῆς περὶ τοῦτο αἰσχύνης μάρτυρα·
τὸν αὐτόν, οἶμαι, τρόπον, οἷς συμβέβηκε τὴν
ψυχὴν ἀγεννῆ καὶ μοχθηρὰν ὑπάρχειν λυσιτελὲς
ἂν εἴη δήπου ἐν[2] ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ βίου καὶ σκότει τῆς
τύχης διατελεῖν.

Ἀδίκως γάρ[3] μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώ-
πων τῆς τύχης κατηγορεῖν ὡς οὐδὲν ἐχούσης
βέβαιον οὐδὲ πιστόν, ἀλλὰ ταχὺ δὴ μάλα, οἷς ἂν
παρῇ, τούτους καταλειπούσης καὶ[4] μεθισταμένης
5 πρὸς ἑτέρους. εἰ μὲν γὰρ καλῶς ἦν ἰδεῖν χρω-
μένους ὡς τὸ πολὺ τοῖς παρ᾽ αὐτῆς ἀγαθοῖς τοὺς
λαμβάνοντας καὶ μὴ τοὐναντίον εὐθὺς ὕβρεως καὶ
μισανθρωπίας καὶ θρασύτητος ἐμπιπλαμένους,
οὐκ ἂν ὀρθῶς ἐποίει μὴ τοῖς αὐτοῖς παρα-
μένουσα· νῦν δέ, οἶμαι, προαιρεῖται μὲν εὐεργετεῖν
ἕκαστον ὡς χρηστὸν καὶ τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτῆς δωρεῶν
ἄξιον, ἐπειδὰν δὲ φαῦλον αἴσθηται καὶ ταπεινόν,

[1] κατὰ τρόπον] τὸν τρόπον Reiske, κατὰ τὸν τρόπον Emperius, καὶ τὸν τρόπον Post.

[2] δήπου ἐν Emperius: δήπουθεν.

blessings one reaps nothing that is good, but rather vilification and hatred, besides making his own wickedness more notorious for all the world, how can that be anything but a great and conspicuous misfortune? And so, in my opinion, for those who lack intelligence it is in every way more profitable to be in needy circumstances and to acquire neither power nor riches nor any such thing at all. For as long as they were in lowly station most persons would fail to perceive their true character, whereas if they are exalted by Fortune their villainy is made conspicuous. Accordingly, just as with those whose bodies are in bad condition it is better that they undress in private and never in public, in order that they may have no witness of their shame in that respect, in the same way, I fancy, those whose misfortune it has been to possess a soul which is ignoble and corrupt would surely find it to their interest to remain inconspicuous as to their lives and obscure as to their fortunes.

It seems to me unfair that most men arraign Fortune on the ground that she has no stability or trustworthiness but all too speedily deserts those whom she visits and shifts to others. For if we could observe that the recipients of her blessings were for the most part making an honourable use of them and not, on the contrary, becoming filled immediately with arrogance and malevolence and effrontery, Fortune would not be acting right if she did not remain with the same people; but as it is, I imagine, she chooses in each instance to benefit a person because she supposes him to be a good man and worthy of her gifts, but when she finds him to be

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[3] γάρ deleted by Wilamowitz. [4] καὶ Geel: ἢ.

καταισχύνοντα τὴν εὔνοιαν τὴν παρ' αὐτῆς, εἰκότως ἀφίσταται καὶ ζητεῖ πάλιν ἄλλον, ἐὰν ἄρα ἐπιει-
6 κέστερον εὑρεῖν δύνηται. πονηρῶν δὲ τῶν πλείστων ὑπαρχόντων καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως σπανίως τινὰ φερούσης ἐπιτήδειον εὖ πράττειν, ἐξ ἀνάγκης συνεχεῖς ποιεῖται τὰς μεταβολάς, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἢ τὴν αὑτῆς φύσιν. ἔστι δὲ ἄτοπον εἴ τις αὐτὸς μὲν[1] οὐ δύναται φέρειν ἐνίους τῶν εὐτυχούντων, ἀλλὰ μικρὸν χρόνον ὁμιλήσας ἀφίσταται, καὶ μᾶλλον αἱρεῖται τὴν αὑτοῦ πενίαν ὅπως ἂν ἐνδέχηται φέρειν ἢ φορτικῶν καὶ ἀνοήτων ἀνέχεσθαι τρόπων· τὴν δὲ τύχην, θεὸν οὖσαν, ἀξιοῖ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις συζῆν ἄχρι παντὸς καὶ πολλάκις ὑβριζομένην ὕβρεις δεινὰς
7 παραμένειν ἀνδραπόδῳ μηδενὸς ἀξίῳ. παρὰ γὰρ τῶν πλουσίων εἰς μὲν τοὺς συμβιοῦντας ἀνθρώπους ἡ ὕβρις ἐστὶ λοιδορία, προπηλακισμός, κατάγελως, τὸ πληγῆναι πολλάκις, εἰς δὲ τὴν τύχην αὐτὴν ὑπερηφανία, βαρύτης, μικρολογία.

Ἀδικώτατά μοι δοκοῦσιν ἐγκαλεῖν οἱ πολλοὶ τῇ τύχῃ. νῦν μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν αἰτιῶνται, φάσκοντες ἄπιστον εἶναι καὶ μηδὲν ἔχειν βέβαιον. εἰ δ' ἀεὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς παρέμενεν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐχὶ τῷ παντὶ μείζονος καὶ δικαιοτέρας ἐτύγχανεν ἂν[2] κατηγορίας. ὅπου γὰρ νῦν ὁρᾶτε τοὺς εὖ πράττοντας οὕτως ὄντας πονηροὺς καὶ βαρεῖς, καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ μέλλοντος ὑπάρχοντος ἀδήλου, πόσης ἂν οἴεσθε αὐτοὺς ὑπερηφανίας καὶ σκαιότητος εἶναι μεστούς, εἰ καθόλου μὴ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς μεταβολῆς ὑφεωρῶντο;

[1] After μὲν Arnim deletes ἕκαστος. Cobet reads εἰ εἷς μὲν ἕκαστος.

mean and base, bringing shame upon her benevolence, with good reason she leaves him and seeks somebody else in turn, hoping to find some one who is more honourable. But since most men are evil and human nature rarely produces anybody fitted to enjoy prosperity, Fortune must needs shift continually, and much rather because of our nature than because of her own. Yet it is strange that one who cannot himself endure some who enjoy the favours of Fortune, but who after a brief association leaves them and prefers to bear his own poverty as best he can rather than put up with cheap and senseless manners, nevertheless expects Fortune, goddess though she be, to live with these same persons for ever and, though frequently subjected to outrageous insults, to remain with an utterly worthless slave! For the fact is that the insolence shown by the rich toward the human beings with whom they live consists of abusive language, contumely, ridicule, and often a blow, but toward Fortune herself it is arrogance, harshness, captiousness.

Most unfair, it seems to me, are the charges most men bring against Fortune. For as it is they find fault with her as being untrustworthy and having no constancy at all. Yet if she always stayed with the same persons she would inevitably incur an altogether more serious and justifiable accusation. For when you now see that the prosperous are so base and disagreeable, even though what is in store for them is uncertain, with what arrogance and boorishness do you suppose they would be filled if they were not at all apprehensive of a change?

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[2] ἐτύγχανεν ἂν Capps: ἐτύγχανε.

8 Φασὶ πολλοὶ τὴν τύχην ἄκριτον εἶναι καὶ πονηροῖς ἀνθρώποις προσμένειν τῶν χρηστῶν δὲ ἀμελεῖν, ὅταν ὁρῶσι τοὺς ἠξιωμένους τῶν παρ' ἐκείνης ἀγαθῶν βαρεῖς ὄντας καὶ δυσχρήστους καὶ ἀγεννεῖς. δοκεῖ δέ μοι ἡ τύχη πρὸς αὐτοὺς δίκαια[1] ἂν εἰπεῖν ὅτι φύσει φιλάνθρωπος οὖσα ἀεί τισι πάρεστιν ἡμῶν οὐχ αἱρουμένη τοὺς ἀξίους οὐδὲ τοὺς πονηρούς, ἀεὶ δὲ οἵοις ἂν αὐτοῖς παραγένηται, τοιούτους αὐτοὺς ὄντας ἐξελέγχεσθαι· δεῖν οὖν τὴν αὑτῶν αἰτιᾶσθαι φύσιν, μὴ τὴν
9 ἐκείνης, ὅτι τοιοῦτοι καθεστήκασιν· ὥστε ὁ μὲν ἐνδεῶς τι[2] πράττων εὐθὺς[3] ἄξιος εἶναι δοκεῖ βέλτιον ἀπαλλάττειν, ὅτῳ δ' ἂν ὑπάρξῃ τὰ παρ' αὐτῆς ἀγαθά, μοχθηρὸς πέφηνεν. ἔστι γὰρ ὅμοιον ὥσπερ εἴ τις, ἀγγείων πολλῶν ὄντων, καὶ μηδενὸς[4] ὑγιοῦς, τὸν εἰς αὐτὰ ἐγχέοντα ψέγοι[5] βλέπων ῥέον τὸ ἀεὶ[6] πληρούμενον. εἴποι γὰρ ἄν, Ἀλλ' ἔστι πάντα τοιαῦτα· ἕως δ' ἂν ᾖ κενά, λανθάνει.

10 Θαυμάζω πῶς ποτε οἱ πολλοὶ τὴν τύχην φασὶν ἐπικίνδυνον εἶναι καὶ μηδὲν τῶν παρ' αὐτῆς ὑπάρχειν βέβαιον. ἐκείνη γὰρ ἐπειδάν τινι δῷ τὰ παρ' αὐτῆς ἀγαθά—ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ χρήματα, ἰσχύς, δόξα, τιμαί—τούτοις οὐδένα κωλύει χρῆσθαι κατὰ τρόπον καὶ νὴ Δία γε εἰς τἀσφαλὲς αὑτοῖς κατατίθεσθαι, λέγω δὲ οὐκ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἔνδον οὐδ' εἰς τὸ ταμιεῖον οὐδὲ κλεῖς ἐφιστάντας καὶ μοχλούς· οὐ φυλάττεται γὰρ ὑπὸ τούτων οὐδὲν τῶν παρ' αὐτῆς· ἀλλ' εἰς εὔνοιαν ἀνθρώπων,
11 πατρίδος εὐεργεσίαν, φίλων βοήθειαν. οὐκοῦν

[1] δίκαια] δικαίως Pflugk. [2] τι] ἔτι Reiske.
[3] εὐθὺς transferred by Emperius to second line below, to follow ἀγαθά. [4] καὶ μηδενὸς] μηδενὸς δὲ Emperius.

# THE SIXTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE

Many charge that Fortune lacks discrimination and stays with bad persons but neglects the good, when they observe that those who have been deemed worthy of her favours are disagreeable and hard to deal with and ignoble. But it seems to me that Fortune might justly say to them that, being naturally benevolent, she is always helping some among us, without selecting the deserving or the base either, but that invariably the character they have when she comes to them is that which they show when the moral test is applied: and that therefore they should blame their own nature, not hers, as being so constituted that he who is faring somewhat badly immediately seems worthy of better fortune, while he who receives her favours turns out to be a knave. Aye, it is very much as if, given a number of vessels and not one of them sound, one were to find fault with the person pouring liquid into them, on seeing that whatever vessel was being filled leaked. For the man might say, "Why, they all are like that; however, so long as they are empty it is unnoticed."

I wonder why in the world most persons say that Fortune is precarious and that none of her gifts is to be relied upon. For whenever she gives any one her good things—wealth, power, fame, honours—she never prevents him from using these in a proper way or, by Heaven, from storing them away in safety for himself; and I do not mean indoors in the house, or in the storehouse, or putting them under lock and key—for none of her gifts is protected by these things—but rather storing them away in goodwill toward mankind, in service to one's country, in aid to friends.

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[5] ψέγοι added by Pflugk, ἐλέγχοι by Duemmler.

[6] τὸ ἀεὶ Crosby, ἀεὶ τὸ Reiske; ἀεί.

οὐδέποτε[1] οὐδὲν ἀφείλετο ἡ τύχη τοὺς ἅπαξ κτησαμένους τῶν οὕτως ἀποκειμένων. οὗτοι γάρ εἰσι θησαυροὶ βέβαιοι καὶ πᾶσι φανεροὶ τῶν αὐτομάτως περιγιγνομένων. ἐὰν δέ τις λαβὼν ῥίψῃ ἢ καὶ νὴ Δία κακῶς θῇ, θύραις καὶ σφραγῖσι καὶ κλεισὶ[2] πιστεύων, οὐκέτ', οἶμαι, δι' ἐκείνην ἀπόλλυνται.

12 Σφόδρα δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἄτοπον· πρὸς γὰρ τῷ πολλὰ βλασφημεῖν διὰ λόγων κατὰ τῆς τύχης ἔτι καὶ πλάσται καὶ γραφεῖς αὐτὴν λοιδοροῦσιν, οἱ μὲν ὡς μαινομένην καὶ διαρρίπτουσαν γράφοντες, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ σφαίρας βεβηκυῖαν, ὡς οὐκ ἀσφαλῶς οὐδὲ ἀκινδύνως ἐρηρεισμένην, δέον ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς τοιούτους πλάττειν καὶ γράφειν τοὺς ἐμπλήκτως καὶ κακῶς πᾶσι χρωμένους καὶ μὰ Δία γε οὐκ ἐπὶ σφαίρας, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀνοίας ἑστηκότας, καὶ μὴ μάτην τῇ τύχῃ μέμφεσθαι.

13 Περὶ πάντων μέν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ὀρθῶς ὑπολαμβάνουσι, μάλιστα δὲ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς τύχης δόξαν ψευδῆ καὶ πεπλανημένην ἔχουσιν. φασὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν διδόναι μὲν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τἀγαθά,[3] ῥᾳδίως δὲ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὡς ἄπιστον βλασφημοῦσι καὶ φθονεράν. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ διδόναι φημὶ τὴν τύχην τούτων οὐδέν,
14 ὡς[4] οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν. ᾧ γὰρ κύριος ἕκαστος γίγνεται τῶν ὑπαρχόντων καὶ δι' οὗ μόνου κεκτῆσθαι τἀγαθὰ ἀσφαλῶς ἔστιν, οὐ δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τῆς δόξης καὶ τῆς δυνά-

[1] After οὐδέποτε Arnim deletes αὐτούς, Geel conjectures αὖθις.

[2] θύραις καὶ σφραγῖσι καὶ κλεισὶ Post with B, θύραις καὶ κλεισὶ Arnim: θύραις σφραγῖσι καὶ κλεισὶ U, θύραις καὶ σφόδρα κλείσει M, ἢ θύραις καὶ κλεισὶ σφόδρα κλείσῃ PH.

Assuredly, Fortune never takes away from those who have once acquired them any of the things thus stored away. For these are dependable repositories and visible to all wherein to store the windfalls of Fortune. However, if after having got them a man squanders them or even, by Heaven, puts them in the wrong place, trusting to doors and seals and locks, no longer, I fancy, is their loss ascribable to her.

And here is something else which is very strange: besides the many verbal blasphemies against Fortune, sculptors and painters alike also traduce her, some representing her as mad and tossing her gifts recklessly about, some as standing on a sphere, as if to say that she has no safe or secure support, whereas it is ourselves that we ought to mould or paint like that, since we treat everything in a mad and evil fashion—and not, by Heaven, standing on a sphere but rather on folly—in place of idly finding fault with Fortune.

While on virtually every topic most men make incorrect assumptions, the opinion they hold regarding Fortune is particularly false and erroneous. For they say that, though she gives mankind their good things, she lightly takes them away again; and for that reason they malign her as being untrustworthy and jealous. But I claim that Fortune does not really give any of those things, as most men think she does. For that which gives each man control over his possessions and through which alone it is possible to have secure possession of one's goods she does not bestow upon them along with their wealth and fame

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[3] τἀγαθά Dindorf: ἀγαθά.
[4] ὡς] ὧν Arnim.

μεως. τοῦτο δέ ἐστιν οὗ χωρὶς οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἔχειν οὐδέν, οἴεσθαι μέντοι καὶ ἀπατᾶσθαι. καθάπερ οὖν οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς, ὅταν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τινὰ εἰσαγάγωμεν ἢ τὸ χωρίον ἢ σκεύη τινὰ παράσχωμεν, εὐθὺς κύριον ἐκείνων τοῦτον ἀπεδείξαμεν, ἂν μὴ προσῇ τὸ μετὰ ἀσφαλείας τινὸς καὶ γράμματος, οὕτω καὶ ἡ τύχη κύριον οὐδένα ποιεῖ τῶν ὑφ' αὑτῆς διδομένων, ἐὰν μὴ προσῇ τὸ μετὰ νοῦ καὶ φρονήσεως τινὰ λαμβάνειν.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰώθασιν εὐδαιμονίζειν εὐθὺς οἷς ἂν ὁρῶσι τὰ παρὰ τῆς τύχης ὑπάρχοντα, ὥσπερ τοῖς πλέουσι συνήδονται πνεῦμα ὁρῶντες ἐπέχον, οὐκ εἰδότες οὔτ' εἰ φορὸν αὐτοῖς τοῦτό ἐστιν οὔτ' εἰ κυβερνήτην ἔχουσιν ἔμπειρον. ἐγὼ δ' οἶμαι τότε δεῖν μακαρίους κρίνειν τοὺς ἐν ἀφθόνοις ὄντας τοῖς παρὰ τῆς τύχης, ὅταν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ φρονεῖν παρῇ. καθ' αὑτὰ γὰρ ταῦτα δηλονότι,[1] εἰ τοῖς ἀνοήτοις γένοιτο, κινδύνου καὶ δυστυχίας αἴτια.

[1] δηλονότι Wilamowitz: δῆλον.

and power. No, that thing it is without which it is not possible to possess any of the other things but only to imagine that one does and to be the victim of delusion. For example, just as when we bring some one into our house or our farm or when we provide certain equipment, we ourselves do not forthwith appoint him master over those things, unless there is included in the transaction some written guarantee, so also Fortune does not make any one master of the things offered by her, unless there is attached to the grant the stipulation that they are accepted with intelligence and good judgement.

Most men, of course, are wont immediately to congratulate those whom they see supplied with the gifts of Fortune, just as people rejoice with men at sea when they observe that they have a breeze, although they know neither whether this breeze is favourable to them nor whether they have a helmsman with experience. But as for myself, I believe the time to judge fortunate those who are surrounded in abundance with the gifts of Fortune is when they have prudence too. For manifestly these gifts of themselves, should they become the property of fools, might be a source of danger and disaster.

# THE SIXTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE: ON REPUTATION

The theme of this Discourse is the fickleness of the crowd and the folly of those who seek to win and hold its favour. Dio regards those who yield to that ambition as victims of delusion. The public honours for which they strive have no real utility and are purchased at too high a price, sometimes reducing to beggary those who aim to reach them. What is more, the aspirant for popular acclaim sacrifices his independence. He is forced to order his life to suit the whims of those whose favour he is courting—in itself an impossible task—and he cringes before the hostile criticism of citizen and alien alike. No matter what scheme of life a man adopts, he is sure to be misjudged. The sane policy is, therefore, to steel oneself against criticism, in other words, to adopt the attitude of the philosopher.

Arnim argues that the Discourse originally ended in the midst of § 26, and that what follows has been appended by Dio's editor, who, coming upon three passages of similar purport, chose to preserve them through inclusion in our Discourse. He is led to this belief by the presence in the section referred to of the sentence beginning *τί δεῖ δόξης ἐπιθυμεῖν*, which is thought to form a logical close. He might have found additional support for his belief in the fact that the beginning of each of the succeeding passages is marked by asyndeton. All three resemble introductory paragraphs of exordia. The extant work of Dio reveals other instances of the existence of variant versions of a common theme, apparently testifying to his practice of delivering a given speech on more than one occasion.

Peculiar interest attaches to the present Discourse because of an allusion in § 6: *ἔτι δὲ ἰδεῖν ἔστιν οἰκίαν συντριβεῖσαν πλουσιωτέραν ἐκείνης διὰ γλῶτταν καὶ νὴ Δία ἑτέραν κινδυ-*

*νεύουσαν.* The two "houses" there referred to are thought by Arnim to have been respectively that of Nero, whose pretensions as a singer (*διὰ γλῶτταν*) are being credited with his downfall, and that of Domitian, whose assassination is here predicted. Arnim observes that toward the close of Domitian's career such predictions were current, even being known by the emperor himself, and he points out that Apollonius of Tyana was able to announce in Ephesus the murder of Domitian at the very moment when it was taking place in Rome! If Arnim's reasoning is correct, our Discourse can with confidence be dated shortly before Domitian's death, while Dio was still in exile.

## 66. ΠΕΡΙ ΔΟΞΗΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΣ

1 Εἰσί τινες, οἳ τοὺς μὲν φιλαργύρους ἢ φιλόψους ἢ οἰνόφλυγας ἢ περὶ γυναῖκας ἢ παῖδας ἐπτοημένους ἀσώτους ἀποκαλοῦσι καὶ δυστυχεῖς, καὶ τούτων ἕκαστον ἡγοῦνται τὸ μέγιστον ὄνειδος, τοὺς δὲ φιλοτίμους καὶ φιλοδόξους τοὐναντίον ἐπαινοῦσιν, ὡς λαμπρούς· ὥστε καὶ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ὀψοφαγῶν μὲν ἢ πίνων ἢ ἐρῶν τινος αἰσχύνεται καὶ περιστέλλει τὴν ἀκρασίαν, δοξοκοπῶν δὲ καὶ φιλοτιμούμενος οὐδένα ἀνθρώπων βούλεται λανθάνειν, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ ταῦτα ποιεῖ.

2 Τῶν γὰρ πολλῶν ἕκαστος εὐφημεῖ τὴν τοιαύτην νόσον, λυσιτελεῖν ἡγούμενος αὑτῷ. καὶ δημοσίᾳ σχεδὸν αἱ πόλεις ἅπασαι δελέατα ἐξευρήκασι παντοῖα τοῖς ἀνοήτοις, στεφάνους καὶ προεδρίας καὶ κηρύγματα. τοιγαροῦν ἤδη τινὰς τούτων ἐπιθυμοῦντας ἀθλίους καὶ πένητας ἀπέδειξαν, οὐδὲν ὀρέγοντες μέγα οὐδὲ θαυμαστόν, ἀλλ' ἐνίους ἀπὸ θαλλοῦ περιάγοντες, ὥσπερ τὰ πρόβατα, ἢ στέφανόν τινα ἢ ταινίαν ἐπιβάλλοντες. οὐκοῦν

[1] Cf. Plato, *Phaedrus* 230 D.

[2] On the subject of crowns cf. Athenaeus 15. 669 c–686 c. Crowns were favourite prizes in the athletic games. Best known is the crown of wild olive, awarded at Olympia. The Diadumenos of Polycleitus portrays an athlete binding his brow with a ribbon. Crowns were awarded also for public service, as in the famous case of Demosthenes. In either sports or politics the crown might prove costly.

# THE SIXTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE: ON REPUTATION

There are some who brand as dissolute and ill-starred such men as have a craving for money or for dainties or for wine or who are inflamed with lust for women or boys, and they regard each of these vices as the greatest disgrace, yet those who crave distinction and reputation, on the contrary, they applaud, thinking them illustrious; and therefore, while each one of his own accord, if a gourmet or a tippler or a lover of somebody, feels ashamed and tries to cloak his incontinence, yet when seeking reputation and distinction he does not want to escape the eye of any man on earth, but rather he carries on his quest in the open.

And no wonder, for among men in general each speaks well of this type of malady, deeming it advantageous for himself. Furthermore, by official act virtually all the states have devised lures of every kind for the simpletons—crowns and front seats and public proclamations. Accordingly, in some instances men who craved these things have actually been made wretched and reduced to beggary, although the states held before them nothing great or wonderful at all, but in some cases led their victims about with a sprig of green, as men lead cattle,[1] or clapped upon their heads a crown or a ribbon.[2] Therefore, while

ὁ τοιοῦτος, ἐξὸν αὐτῷ μυρίους, εἰ ἐθέλοι, στεφάνους προῖκα ἔχειν οὐ μόνον ἐλαίας ἢ δρυός, ἀλλὰ καὶ κιττοῦ καὶ μυρρίνης, πολλάκις τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπέδοτο καὶ τὰ χωρία, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα περιέρχεται πεινῶν καὶ φαῦλον τριβώνιον ἔχων. ἀλλὰ κηρύττεται, φησίν, ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, ὥσπερ ἀπολωλὸς
3 ἀνδράποδον. οὐκοῦν εἰκότως χρῶνται πρὸς τὰς χειροτονίας τῷ τῆς ἐλαίας θαλλῷ διὰ τὸ φύσει πικρὸν ὑπάρχειν. τοὺς γάρ[1] δοξοκόπους ἐκβάλλουσιν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν[2] οἱ δῆμοι κραυγῇ καὶ ψόφῳ, καθάπερ,[3] οἶμαι, τοὺς ψᾶρας οἱ γεωργοί. κἀκεῖνοι μὲν μεθίστανται πρὸς ὀλίγον· τοῖς δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν εἰς οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν ἰδίων ἐπάνοδος, ἀλλὰ περιίασι μικρὸν ὕστερον πτωχοί, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν προσαγορεύσειεν ἰδὼν ἔτι τῶν πρότερον διαρρηγνυμένων.[4]
4 Τοσαύτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ τύφου δύναμις ὥστε παρὰ μὲν τῶν βαφέων[5] ἀγοράσεις δυοῖν μνῶν ἢ τριῶν καλὴν πορφύραν· δημοσίᾳ δ' εἰ ἐθέλοις πολλῶν πάνυ ταλάντων ὤνιος. καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ταινίας ὀλίγων δραχμῶν, τὰς δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πολλάκις ἁπάσης τῆς οὐσίας. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς κηρυττομένους ἀθλίους

[1] *τοὺς γὰρ* U : *τοὺς* BM.
[2] *ἀγρῶν*] *ἀγορῶν* H, marginal correction adopted by Arnim and Budé.
[3] *καθάπερ* Pflugk : *καθώσπερ*.
[4] *τοὺς γὰρ δοξοκόπους . . . διαρρηγνυμένων* deleted by Emperius.
[5] *βαφέων* Emperius : *βαρβάρων*.

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[1] Crowns of ivy or myrtle were sometimes worn to ward off drunkenness; cf. Athenaeus 15. 675 d–e.

a fool like that, if he so desired, might have for the asking any number of crowns, not merely of olive or of oak, but even of ivy or of myrtle,[1] often he sells his house and his lands and thereafter goes about hungry and clad in a shabby little cloak. Ah but, says he, his name is publicly proclaimed by his fellow citizens—just as is that of a runaway slave! With good reason, therefore, men use in connexion with the votes passed in Assembly the branch of the olive,[2] because of its native bitterness! For the notoriety-seekers are driven out of their fields by the democracies with shouting and clamour,[3] just as, methinks, the starlings are driven out by the farmers. Moreover, though the starlings withdraw for a little while, the notoriety-seekers can never again return to anything that once was theirs, nay, a short while later they go about as beggars and no longer would any one of all who formerly were fain to burst their lungs with shouting greet them if he saw them.

However, such is the spell of this infatuation that, though you will buy from the dyers for two or three minas a handsome purple mantle, should you wish one by public award it would cost you very many talents.[4] Again, though you will buy the ribbons of the market-place for a few drachmas, those of the Assembly will often cost you all your fortune. Furthermore, while persons who are cried for sale in the market-place [5] all deem wretched, those cried

[2] Perhaps an allusion to the wreaths carved on certain stones containing official records.

[3] To gain the shouts of the mob they are driven to sacrifice their property.

[4] The intrinsic value of the mina was one sixtieth part of the talent, but one hundred times that of the drachma.

[5] The slaves; cf. § 2.

πάντες[1] νομίζουσι, τοὺς δ' ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ μακαρίους· καὶ τούτους μὲν κηρύττεσθαί φασιν, ἐκείνους δὲ ἀποκηρύττεσθαι, δῆλον ὅτι παρὰ μίαν συλλαβὴν γιγνομένης τῆς διαφορᾶς.

5 Οὕτω δὲ πάνυ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατεφρόνησαν οἱ πρότερον καὶ τὴν εὐήθειαν αὐτῶν συνεῖδον ὥστε ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων πόνων καὶ πληγῶν[2] φύλλα προύθεσαν. ἀλλ' ὅμως εἰσὶν οἱ χάριν τούτων ἀποθνῄσκειν αἱρούμενοι. τῶν δὲ αἰγῶν οὐκ ἂν οὐδεμία κατακρημνίσειεν αὑτὴν κοτίνου χάριν, καὶ ταῦτα παρούσης ἑτέρας νομῆς. καίτοι ταῖς μὲν αἰξὶν οὐκ ἀηδὴς ὁ κότινος, ἄνθρωπος δὲ οὐκ ἂν φάγοι. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐξ Ἰσθμοῦ πίτυν, οὐδὲν οὖσαν τῶν ἄλλων χλωροτέραν, μετὰ πολλοῦ πόνου καὶ κακῶν ἀναιροῦνται, πολλάκις ἀργύριον πολὺ διδόντες· καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ φυτοῦ μηδεμίαν ὠφέλειαν ἔχοντος· οὔτε γὰρ σκιὰν ποιεῖν οὔτε καρπὸν φέρειν δύναται τό τε φύλλον δριμὺ καὶ καπνῶδες· τῆς δ' ἐκ Μεγάρων πίτυος οὐδεὶς ἐπιστρέφεται. κἂν μὲν ἕτερός τις μὴ κατεαγὼς τὴν κεφαλὴν δήσηται,[3] καταγελᾶται· τοῖς δὲ βασιλεῦσι πρέπειν δοκεῖ καὶ πολλαὶ μυριάδες τεθνήκασιν ὑπὲρ τούτου τοῦ ῥάκους.

6 Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ διὰ χρυσοῦν πρόβατον ἀνάστατον συνέβη γενέσθαι τηλικαύτην οἰκίαν τὴν Πέλοπος

[1] πάντες P : πάντας UBH, ἅπαντας M.
[2] πληγῶν] δαπανῶν Arnim. [3] δήσηται] διαδήσηται Cobet.

in the theatre [1] they deem fortunate ; besides, they claim that the latter are cried, the former decried, a single syllable evidently constituting the sole difference !

Yes, so completely did the men of old despise mankind, and so clearly did they see their fatuity, that as a reward for the greatest hardships and buffetings they offered leaves ! [2] Yet there are some who to gain those leaves elect to die. But no nanny-goat would hurl herself over a cliff for the sake of a sprig of wild olive, especially when other pasturage is handy. And yet, though goats do not find the wild olive distasteful, a human being could not eat it. Again, take the Isthmian pine [3] ; while it is no greener than the other varieties, with much toil and hardship men strive to gain it, often paying much money for it—and that too, although the tree has no utility at all, for it can neither provide shade nor bear fruit, and, besides, the leaf is acrid and smoky ; on the other hand, no one turns his head to look at the pine from Megara.[4] Moreover, if any one else has his head bound—unless he has suffered a fracture—he is the object of ridicule ; yet for kings the headband is thought becoming and untold thousands have given their lives for the sake of this scrap of cloth.

Why, because of a golden lamb it came to pass that a mighty house like that of Pelops was over-

[1] Honours voted in Assembly often were conferred in the theatre.

[2] An allusion to the wreaths awarded the athletic victor.

[3] The "Isthmian pine" was awarded the victor in the Isthmian Games held at the Isthmus of Corinth in honour of Poseidon.

[4] There seems to have been no great botanical difference, but Megara had no national games of its own.

οἱ τραγῳδοί φασιν. καὶ κατεκόπη μὲν τὰ τοῦ Θυέστου τέκνα, τῇ Πελοπίᾳ δὲ ὁ πατὴρ ἐμίχθη καὶ τὸν Αἴγισθον ἔσπειρεν. οὗτος δ' ἀπέκτεινε μὲν μετὰ τῆς Κλυταιμνήστρας τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα τὸν ποιμένα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, κἀκείνην Ὀρέστης ὁ υἱός, καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσας εὐθὺς ἐμαίνετο. τούτοις δὲ οὐκ ἄξιον ἀπιστεῖν, ἃ γέγραπται μὲν οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων ἀνδρῶν, Εὐριπίδου καὶ Σοφοκλέους, λέγεται δὲ ἐν μέσοις τοῖς θεάτροις· ἔτι δὲ ἰδεῖν ἔστιν ἑτέραν οἰκίαν συντριβεῖσαν πλουσιωτέραν ἐκείνης διὰ γλῶτταν[1] καὶ νὴ Δία ἑτέραν κινδυνεύουσαν.

7 Τοιούτων δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν δόξαν ὄντων καὶ μυρίων ἄλλων ἀτοπωτέρων, πῶς οὐχὶ τῷ παντὶ δυσχερέστερος[2] ὁ πρὸς ταύτην κεχηνὼς τοῦ πρὸς ἀλλ' ὁτιοῦν ἐπτοημένου; τὸν φίλοψον εἷς ἰχθὺς ἀποπίμπλησι καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν[3] αὐτὸν κωλύσειεν ἥδεσθαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν· ὁμοίως ὁ πρὸς παῖδας ἀθλίως ἔχων, ἐὰν εἰς ὡραῖον[4] ἐμπέσῃ, τοῦτον ἕνα ὄντα θεραπεύει, καὶ πολλάκις μικροῦ κατειργάσατο. τὸν οἰνόφλυγα ἓν Θάσιον κατέπλησε,[5] καὶ πιὼν Ἐνδυμίωνος ἥδιον καθεύδει· τῷ δοξοκόπῳ δὲ

[1] γλῶτταν] δόξαν Herwerden.
[2] δυσχερέστερος] δυστυχέστερος UH.
[3] ἂν added by Emperius.
[4] εἰς ὡραῖον Casaubon: εἰς ῥωμαῖον BPH, εἰς ῥωμαίων M, εἰς ῥωμαίων U.
[5] κατέπλησε] κατέπιε M, ὃ κατέπιεν UB.

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[1] The fortunes of the house of Pelops were a favourite theme with the tragic poets. One of Sophocles' extant dramas (*Electra*) and at least three now lost testify to his interest in the story. Four of the extant plays of Euripides (*Electra*, *Iphigeneia at Aulis*, *Iphigeneia among the Taurians*,

turned, as we learn from the tragic poets.[1] And not only were the children of Thyestes cut in pieces, but Pelopia's father [2] lay with her and begot Aegisthus; and Aegisthus with Clytemnestra's aid slew Agamemnon, "the shepherd of the Achaeans" [3]; and then Clytemnestra's son Orestes slew her, and, having done so, he straightway went mad. One should not disbelieve these things, for they have been recorded by no ordinary men—Euripides and Sophocles—and also are recited in the midst of the theatres. Furthermore, one may behold another house, more affluent than that of Pelops, which has been ruined because of a tongue, and, in sooth, another house which is now in jeopardy.[4]

But such being the accompaniments of notoriety, yes, and countless others even more absurd, why is not he who gapes hungrily in that direction altogether more disgusting than the person who is distraught with passion for anything else at all? The gourmet is satisfied with a single fish and none of his enemies would interfere with his enjoyment of it; similarly he who is a pitiable victim of lust for boys, if he comes upon a handsome lad, devotes himself to this one only and often prevails upon him at a small cost. A single jar of Thasian wine is all the drunkard can hold, and when he has swallowed it he sleeps more sweetly than Endymion; yet your notoriety-seeker would not

and *Orestes*) deal with the same theme. Dio should have known the famous trilogy of Aeschylus, the *Oresteia*, but for some reason he overlooks it.

[2] Thyestes was father of Pelopia; cf. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, epitome 2. 14.

[3] A familiar Homeric tag.

[4] The houses of Nero and Domitian respectively; cf. Introduction.

οὐκ ἂν εἷς[1] ἐπαινῶν ἐξαρκέσειεν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ χίλιοι πολλάκις.

8 Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ῥᾷόν ἐστι μεταχειρίσασθαι τὸ χαλεπώτατον μειράκιον τοῦ μετριωτάτου δήμου τίς οὐκ ἂν φήσειεν; ὅσῳ μέντοι προχωρεῖ τὸ τῆς δόξης ἐπὶ πλέον, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον οὐκ ἔστιν ὕπνου λαχεῖν· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ φρενιτίζοντες, ἀεὶ μετέωρος οὗτος καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν. νὴ Δί', ἀλλ' ἐκείνους ἰδεῖν ἔστιν περὶ τὸν οἶνον καὶ τὰς ἑταίρας καὶ τὰ ὀπτανεῖα. τῷ τοιούτῳ δὲ οὐκ ἀνάγκη πολὺ μὲν ὄψον ἀγοράζειν, πολὺν δὲ οἶνον; αὐλητὰς δὲ καὶ μίμους καὶ κιθαριστὰς καὶ θαυματοποιοὺς συνακτέον, ἔτι δὲ πύκτας καὶ παγκρατιαστὰς καὶ παλαιστὰς καὶ δρομεῖς καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔθνος, εἴ γε μὴ μέλλει φαύλως μηδὲ ἀγεννῶς ἑστιάσειν τὸ πλῆθος.

9 Τοιοῦτος μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς πώποτε τῶν ὀψοφάγων γέγονεν ὅστις ἐπεθύμησε λέοντος ἀγρίου ἢ ταύρων ἑκατόν· οἱ δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρέσκειν ἐθέλοντες οὐ μόνον τούτων ἐπιθυμοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὅσων οὐδὲ εἰπεῖν ἔστιν. οὐ γὰρ ὀλίγοις λίνοις, φασίν, ἢ δυσὶν ἢ τρισὶν ἑταίραις οὐδὲ δέκα Λεσβίαις[2] θηρεύεται δόξα καὶ δῆμος ὅλος εἰς πειθὼ καὶ φιλίαν ἄγεται, μυρίων ἀντιπραττόντων· ἀλλὰ ἀνάγκη πόλεως ἀκολασίαν ἔχειν καὶ φιλῳδὸν καὶ φιλοχορευτὴν καὶ φιλοπότην καὶ ὀψοφάγον εἶναι καὶ πάντα δὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα μὴ ὡς ἕνα ἄνδρα, ἀλλὰ μυρίους ἢ δὶς

[1] εἷς Reiske : οὐδείς.
[2] Λεσβίαις UB : λεσβίοις MPH.

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[1] The term mime, frequently used to designate a low form of comedy popular in Sicily and southern Italy, is here used of the performers in such productions.

be satisfied with the praise of just one person, nay, not even with that of a thousand in many instances.

Who would not agree that it is easier to handle the most difficult youth than the most moderate community? And yet the farther the craze for notoriety progresses, so much the more impossible it is to get any sleep; instead, like the victims of delirium, your seeker after fame is always up in the air both night and day. "Right, by Heaven," somebody may say, "but you can see those other chaps busy with their wine and their mistresses and their kitchens." Yes, but does not the seeker after fame find it necessary to buy a lot of food and wine? And he must collect flute-players and mimes [1] and harpists and jugglers and, more than that, pugilists and pancratiasts [2] and wrestlers and runners and all that tribe—at least unless he intends to entertain the mob in a cheap and beggarly manner.

For though there has never been a gourmet so voracious as to crave a savage lion or a hundred bulls, those who wish to please the masses crave not merely the things just listed but things too numerous to mention. For "not with a few nets," as the saying goes, or with two or three harlots, or even with ten Lesbian girls, is popularity hunted and a whole community rendered obedient and friendly, since thousands are competing for it; nay, he who courts popular favour must have a whole city's licentiousness and be a devotee of singing, of dancing, of drinking, of eating, and, indeed, of all such things, not as one single individual, but rather as ten thousand or twenty thousand or a hundred thousand, in keeping

[2] The pancratiast used a combination of wrestling and boxing.

μυρίους ἢ δεκάκις, ἠλίκης ἄν[1] ποτε ἐραστὴς ᾖ[2]
10 πόλεως. ἀεὶ δ᾽ ἂν παρὰ τῷ τοιούτῳ καταλάβοις

αὐλῶν συρίγγων τ᾽ ἐνοπὴν ὅμαδόν τ᾽ ἀνθρώπων.

παρὰ δὲ πλήθουσι τράπεζαι σίτου καὶ κρειῶν,
μέθυ δ᾽ ἐκ κρητήρων οἰνοχόοι φορέουσι.

κνισῆεν δέ τε δῶμα περιστεναχίζεται αὐλῇ
ἤματα, νύκτας δ᾽ αὖτε παρ᾽ αἰδοίῃς ἀλόχοισιν

οὐδέποθ᾽ εὕδουσιν, οὐδ᾽ ἂν πάνυ πολλοὺς ὑποστορέσωνται τάπητας.

11 Ὥστε τούς γε φιλόπαιδας καὶ σφόδρα, οἶμαι, μακαρίζειν αὐτοὺς τοῖς φιλοδόξοις παραβάλλοντας, ὅταν αὐτοὶ μὲν ὄρτυγας ζητῶσιν ἢ ἀλεκτρυόνα ἢ ἀηδόνιον, τοῖς δὲ ὁρῶσιν[3] ἀνάγκην οὖσαν Ἀμοιβέα ἢ Πῶλον[4] ζητεῖν ἢ τῶν Ὀλυμπίασι νενικηκότων τινὰ πέντε μισθοῦσθαι ταλάντων. καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἢ[5] τὸν παιδαγωγὸν ἢ τὸν ἀκόλουθον ἐγάστρισαν· οἱ δὲ ἂν μὴ τοὐλάχιστον ἑκατὸν τῆς ἡμέρας πολυτελῶς ἑστιάσωσιν οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ὄφελος.

Τοῖς μὲν οὖν κάμνουσιν ἡσυχίας προνοοῦσιν οἱ θεραπεύοντες ὅπως καθεύδωσι· τοῖς δὲ δοξοκόποις, ὅταν ἡσυχίας τυγχάνωσι, τότε μάλιστα ὕπνος οὐκ
12 ἔπεισιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν χρημάτων ἢ γένους ἐπιτυ-

[1] ἡλίκης ἄν Selden: ἤδίκης ἄν U, ἠδίκεις ἄν B, ἢ δίκησάν MH, εἰδήκεις ἄν P.
[2] ᾖ added by Selden.
[3] ὁρῶσιν Emperius: ἐρῶσιν UBM, δόξης ἐρῶσιν PH.
[4] Ἀμοιβέα ἢ Πῶλον Wilamowitz: ἀμοιβαίαν πῶλον.
[5] ἢ] ἦτε B, εἴς τε M, ἕνα Arnim.

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[1] *Iliad* 10. 13.
[2] A paraphrase of *Odyssey* 9. 8-10, descriptive of palace life at the court of Alcinoüs in Phaeacia.

with the size of the city whose favour he is courting. At such a person's house you will always find

> The shrill of flutes and pipes, the din of men.[1]

And at his house tables are laden with bread and meat, and from mixing-bowls cupbearers bear drink.[2]

> By day the hall with fatty savour reeks
> And makes the court to echo with its din,
> While in the night, beside their wives revered[3]—

they never sleep, not though they spread beneath them very many rugs.

Thus the boy-lovers, I fancy, count themselves extremely fortunate as they compare themselves with the popularity-seekers, seeing that they themselves seek only quails or a cock or a tiny nightingale,[4] while those others, they observe, must needs seek some Amoebeus[5] or Polus[6] or hire some Olympic victor for a fee of five talents. Moreover, while they themselves have filled the belly of one man, the tutor or the attendant of the lad, the others, unless they provide a sumptuous banquet for at least a hundred daily, derive no advantage at all.

Again, when men are ill, their attendants provide quiet for them so that they may sleep; but with the popularity-seekers, whenever they do obtain a bit of quiet, that is the time above all when sleep will not come. Now those who have been blessed with

[3] *Odyssey* 10. 10-11, spoken by Odysseus about the palace of Aeolus.

[4] As gifts for their beloved.

[5] Famous singer of the third century: cf. Athenaeus 14. 623 d.

[6] Famous tragic actor; cf. Lucian, *Necyomanteia* 16, and J. B. O'Connor, *Chapters in History of Actors and Acting in Ancient Greece*, pp. 128 ff.

χόντες ἤ τινος τῶν τοιούτων ἢ σώματος ἢ διανοίας[1] ἢ λαλιὰν γοῦν περιποιησάμενοι, καθάπερ ἐπτερωμένοι μόνον οὐ κατ᾽ ἄστρων φέρονται, δημαγωγοί τε καὶ ξεναγοὶ καὶ σοφισταὶ λεγόμενοι, δήμους καὶ σατράπας καὶ μαθητὰς θηρεύοντες· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἕκαστος τῶν μηδεμίαν χορηγίαν ἐχόντων ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς νόσου κρατουμένων, περιέρχεται πρὸς ἕτερον ζῶν[2] καὶ τί περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγει τις φροντίζων, κἂν μὲν εὐφημήσῃ τις, ὡς οἴεται, μακάριος καὶ φαιδρός, εἰ δὲ μή, ταπεινός τε καὶ κατηφὴς καὶ τοιοῦτον αὑτὸν εἶναι νομίζων ὁποῖον ἂν εἴπῃ τις. καὶ δίαιταν μὲν ἢ δίκην ἂν ἔχῃ πρός τινα, οὐκ ἀξιοῖ τὸν διαιτητὴν ἢ τὸν δικαστὴν τοῖς τυχοῦσι προσέχειν μάρτυσιν, αὐτὸς δ᾽ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ πάντας ἀξιόχρεως ἡγεῖται.

13 Τί δὴ κακοδαιμονέστερον ἀνθρώπων ἐπ᾽ ἄλλοις κειμένων καὶ τὸν ἀπαντῶντα κύριον ἐχόντων, πρὸς ὃν ἀεὶ βλέπειν ἀνάγκη καὶ σκοπεῖν τὸ πρόσωπον ἑκάστου, καθάπερ τοῖς οἰκέταις τὸ τῶν δεσποτῶν; πᾶσα μὲν οὖν ἐστι δουλεία χαλεπή· τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ τύχης ἐν οἰκίᾳ τοιαύτῃ[3] δουλεύοντας ἐν ᾗ δύο ἢ τρεῖς δεσπόται, καὶ ταῦτα ταῖς τε ἡλικίαις καὶ ταῖς φύσεσι διάφοροι—λέγω δὲ πρεσβύτης ἀνελεύθερος καὶ τούτου παῖδες νεανίσκοι πίνειν καὶ σπαθᾶν θέλοντες—τίς οὐκ ἂν τῶν ἄλλων οἰκετῶν ὁμολογήσειεν ἀθλιωτέρους, ὅταν τοσούτους δέῃ θεραπεύειν καὶ τούτων ἕκαστον ἄλλο τι βουλόμενον καὶ προστάττοντα;

[1] ἢ διανοίας Morel : ἢ ἀπονοίας, εὐτονίας Arnim.
[2] ζῶν] ζητῶν H.
[3] τοιαύτῃ Emperius : τῇ αὐτῇ.

riches or ancestry or the like or with physical or mental excellence or who, at any rate, have acquired a glib tongue, these, as if endowed with wings, are all but carried to the stars, being called leaders of the people and condottieri and sophists, courting communities and satraps and pupils ; but of the others, who have no adventitious backing but are victims of the same malady, each goes about living his life with his eye on somebody else and concerned about what people are saying of him, and if people speak well of him, as he imagines, he is a happy man, cheerful of countenance, but otherwise he is depressed and downcast and considers himself to be the sort of man they say he is. Again, if he is involved in litigation with any one before an arbitrator or a judge, he does not expect the arbitrator or the judge to heed chance witnesses, and yet he himself in matters which concern himself regards all and sundry as worthy of credence.

What, then, is more ill-starred than human beings who are at the mercy of others and in the power of any one who meets them, always compelled to keep their eye on him and to watch his countenance, just as slaves must watch the countenance of their masters ? Now any servitude is hard, but those whom fate has doomed to servitude in a house in which there are two or three masters, and masters, too, who differ in both age and disposition—for example, a niggardly old man and that man's youthful sons, bent on drinking and extravagance—who would not agree that slaves so placed are more wretched than the others, seeing that they must serve so many masters, each of whom desires and orders something different ?

14 Εἰ δέ τις δημόσιος οἰκέτης εἴη πρεσβυτῶν,[1] νεανίσκων, πενήτων, πλουσίων, ἀσώτων, φιλαργύρων, ποῖός τις ἂν ὁ τοιοῦτος εἴη; οἶμαι δέ, εἴ τις ἐν τοιαύτῃ πόλει χρήματα ἔχων ἠναγκάζετο βιοῦν ἐν ᾗ πᾶσιν ἐξῆν ἁρπάζειν τὰ τοῦ πέλας καὶ μηδεὶς νόμος ἐκώλυε, παραχρῆμα ἂν ἀπέστη τῶν χρημάτων, εἰ καὶ φιλαργυρίᾳ τοὺς πώποτε ὑπερβεβλήκει. τοῦτο δὴ νῦν ἐπὶ τῆς δόξης ἐστίν. ἐφεῖται γὰρ εἰς ταύτην τῷ βουλομένῳ τινὰ βλάπτειν καὶ πολίτῃ καὶ ξένῳ καὶ μετοίκῳ.

15 Τοῖς ἀτίμοις ἀβίωτος εὐλόγως ὁ βίος φαίνεται, καὶ πολλοὶ μᾶλλον αἱροῦνται θάνατον ἢ ζῆν τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν ἀποβαλόντες, ὅτι τῷ ἐθελήσαντι τύπτειν ἔξεστι καὶ κόλασις οὐκ ἔστιν ἰδία[2] τοῦ προπηλακίζοντος. οὐκοῦν τὸν δοξοκόπον ἅπασιν ἔξεστι τύπτειν τῷ παντὶ χαλεπωτέρας πληγὰς τῶν εἰς τὸ σῶμα· καίτοι τοὺς μὲν ἀτίμους οὐκ ἂν εὕροι τις ῥᾳδίως ὑπό τινος τοῦτο πάσχοντας· τὸ γὰρ νεμεσητὸν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ τὸν φθόνον εὐλαβοῦνται καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἐκ τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων αὐτοῖς οὐδείς ἐστι κίνδυνος. τοῦ δὲ βλασφημεῖν μάλιστα τοὺς δοκοῦντας ἐνδόξους οὐδεὶς φείδεται οὐδὲ ἀδύνατος οὐδεὶς οὕτως,[3] ὅστις οὐκ ἂν ἰσχύσαι
16 ῥῆμα εἰπεῖν. τοιγαροῦν μέτριός τις τῶν ἀρχαίων συνεχῶς τινος αὐτῷ προσφέροντος τοιούτους λόγους, Εἰ μὴ παύσῃ κακῶς ἀκούων ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ,

[1] After πρεσβυτῶν Reiske deletes ἤ.
[2] ἰδία UBM] νὴ δία PH, οὐδεμία Pflugk.
[3] οὕτως added by Emperius.

But suppose a person were to be slave of a community consisting of old and young, of poor and rich, of wastrels and misers, what would the condition of such a person be? Again, methinks, if a man of wealth were forced to live in the kind of city in which all were free to plunder the possessions of their neighbours and there were no law to prevent it, he would renounce his wealth forthwith, no matter if he had surpassed all the world in avarice. This, in fact, is the case with popularity to-day. For in that respect licence has been granted to any one who so desires, whether citizen or alien or foreign resident, to injure any one.

To the disfranchised life seems with good reason not worth living, and many choose death rather than life after losing their citizenship, for whoever so desires is free to strike them and there exists no private means of punishing him who treats them with contumely. Well then, all are free to give the popularity-seeker blows altogether more grievous than those which are dealt the body. Yet the disfranchised, one would find, are not lightly subjected to this treatment by any one; for most men are on their guard against righteous indignation and ill will, and, finally, the disfranchised have naught to fear from any who are weaker than they. When it comes to vituperation, however, especially vituperation of those who are thought to enjoy esteem, no one forbears, and no one is so powerless as not to be able to utter some telling phrase. For that very reason a certain mild-tempered man of olden days, when somebody kept attacking him with that kind of language, was moved to say, "If you do not stop listening to bad words about me, I too shall listen to

κἀγώ, φησιν, ὑπὲρ σοῦ κακῶς ἀκούσομαι. βέλτιον δὲ ἴσως ἦν, μηδὲ εἰ λέγει τὴν ἀρχὴν προσποιεῖσθαι.

Τὸν οἰκέτην πολλάκις ἀνειμένον καὶ παίζοντα ὁ δεσπότης περιπεσὼν κλαίειν ἐποίησε· τὸν δὲ τῆς δόξης ἥττονα ὁ βουλόμενος ἑνὶ ῥήματι συνέστειλεν. εἴ τις ἐπῳδὰς ἐπίστατο τοιαύτας παρὰ τῆς Μηδείας μαθὼν ἢ παρὰ τῶν Θετταλῶν,[1] ὥστε φθεγγόμενος τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὓς ἤθελε ποιεῖν κλαίειν καὶ ὀδυνᾶσθαι μηδενὸς κακοῦ παρόντος, οὐκ ἂν ἐδόκει τυραννὶς εἶναι ἡ τούτου δύναμις; πρὸς οὖν τὸν ἐπὶ δόξῃ κεχαυνωμένον οὐκ ἔστιν
17 οὐδεὶς ὃς οὐκ ἔχει ταύτην τὴν ἰσχύν. δύο γὰρ ἢ τρία ῥήματα εἰπὼν εἰς συμφορὰν καὶ λύπην ἐνέβαλεν. καὶ μὴν εἴ γέ τις οὕτως ἐκ δαιμονίου τινὸς ἔχοι τὸ σῶμα, ὥστε ἄν τις αὐτῷ καταράσηται, παραχρῆμα πυρέττειν ἢ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀλγεῖν, οὗτος ἂν[2] ἀθλιώτερος ὑπῆρχε τῶν τρισαθλίων· εἰ δέ τις οὕτως ἀσθενῶς ἔχοι τὴν διάνοιαν, ὥστε εἴ τις λοιδορήσειεν αὐτὸν ἐξίστασθαι παραχρῆμα τὴν ψυχήν, πῶς οὐχὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ φευκτὸς ὁ βίος;

Εἰ δέ τις κρίνοιτο καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν περὶ ὅτου δήποτε, ἢ περὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἢ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων, ἆρ' οὐχὶ τῷ παντὶ βέλτιον ἐᾶσαι τοῦτο καὶ μηκέτι τὸ λοιπὸν κινδυνεύειν,[3] εἰ μὲν περὶ χρημάτων,
18 τὰ χρήματα, εἰ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ζῆν, τὸν βίον; τί οὖν; ὁ περὶ τῆς δόξης ἀγὼν οὐκ ἀεὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις[4]

[1] Θετταλῶν] Θετταλίδων Cobet.
[2] ἂν added by Pflugk.
[3] After κινδυνεύειν Arnim deletes καί.
[4] τοῖς ἀνθρώποις] deleted by Wilamowitz.

bad words about you." But perhaps it would be better, in case some one starts using abusive language, not even to notice it in the first place.

The slave who is often unrestrained and given to jesting, if his master catches him at it, is made to smart for it; but the person who is subservient to public opinion is humbled by any one at all with a single word. If one were acquainted with spells learned from Medea or the Thessalians [1] which were so potent that by uttering them he could make any one he pleased weep and suffer pain though confronted by no misfortune, would not his power be regarded as tyranny? Well, in dealing with one who has become puffed up by reputation there is none who does not have this power; for by speaking two or three words you have plunged him into misery and anguish. Again, if because of some supernatural influence one's body were to be so constituted that, if any one should curse him, he would immediately have a fever or a headache, that man would be more wretched than the thrice wretched; and if one were to be so feeble-minded that, in case some one should revile him, he would immediately become deranged, why would not life for such a man be a thing to shun?

Or let us put it this way. Suppose one were to be put on trial every day concerning anything whatever, whether his life or his property, would it not be altogether preferable to renounce that thing and to cease being in jeopardy for the future—if it be property, then the property; if it be life, then his life? How then? Is not the trial concerning reputation always in progress wherever there are

[1] The Thessalians were famed for their occult powers.

τοῖς ἀνοήτοις ἐνέστηκεν, οὐ μόνον[1] ἅπαξ τῆς ἡμέρας, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις, οὐδὲ ἐφ' ὡρισμένοις δικασταῖς, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἁπλῶς, καὶ τούτοις ἀνωμότοις καὶ μήτε μαρτύρων ἐπιστρεφομένοις μήτε τεκμηρίων; μήτε γὰρ εἰδότες μήτε ἀκούοντες μήτε λαχόντες δικάζουσι, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς διαφέρει πίνουσιν ἢ λουομένοις τὴν ψῆφον φέρειν· καὶ τὸ πάντων δεινότατον· ὃν γὰρ ἂν ἀπολύσῃ τήμερον,
19 αὔριον καταδικάζει. οὐκοῦν ἀνάγκη τὸν ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου ταύτης ἐχόμενον ὑπεύθυνον περιέρχεσθαι καὶ προσέχειν ἑκάστῳ καὶ δεδοικέναι μή τινα ἑκὼν ἢ ἄκων λυπήσῃ, μάλιστα τῶν ἑτοίμων[2] τινὰ καὶ τῶν εὐτραπέλων. εἰ γὰρ καὶ σμικρόν, οἷα[3] πολλὰ συμβαίνει, προσκρούσας τινὶ τύχοι, εὐθὺς ἐπαφῆκε ῥῆμα[4] χαλεπόν· καὶ τοῦτο εἰπών, ἐὰν μὲν ἀποτύχῃ πως, οὐδὲν[5] ἧττον ἐτάραξεν· ἐὰν δ' ἐπιτύχῃ τοῦ καιρίου[6] παραχρῆμα ἀνῄρηκεν. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἔχουσιν ὥστε ὑπὸ παντὸς διατρέπεσθαι καὶ διαρρεῖν.

20 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνίοτε ἄλλα ἐπ' ἄλλοις μᾶλλον ἰσχύει· καθάπερ, οἶμαι, τῶν παιδαρίων ἕκαστον ἰδιότροπόν τινα μορμὼ δέδοικε καὶ ταύτην συνείθισται φοβεῖσθαι—τὰ μὲν γὰρ φύσει δειλὰ πᾶν ὅ τι ἂν δείξῃ τις ὡς φοβερὸν βοᾷ—πλὴν ἐπί γε τούτων τῶν μειζόνων ὀνείδη[7] τινά ἐστι πρός τινας.

[1] οὐ μόνον: οἱ οὐ μόνον PH, μόνον οὐχ BM, οὐ μόνον οὐχ U.
[2] ἑτοίμων] ἰταμῶν Emperius. [3] οἷα Emperius: ὅσα.
[4] ἐπαφῆκε ῥῆμα TU marg.: ἐσπάθησε ῥῆμα UBMP, εὐπαθείας ἔρημα H. [5] οὐδὲν added by Wilamowitz.
[6] καιρίου Casaubon: κυρίου. [7] ὀνείδη Sonny: ἤδη.

men—that is, foolish men—not merely once a day but many times, and not before a definite panel of judges but before all men without distinction, and, moreover, men not bound by oath, men without regard for either witnesses or evidence? For they sit in judgement without either having knowledge of the case or listening to testimony or having been chosen by lot, and it makes no difference to them if they cast their vote at a drinking bout or at the bath and, most outrageous of all, he who to-day is acquitted to-morrow is condemned. Accordingly, whoever is the victim of this malady of courting popularity is bound to be subject to criticism as he walks about, to pay heed to everyone, and to fear lest wittingly or unwittingly he give offence to somebody, but particularly to one of those who are bold and of ready wit. For if he should have the misfortune to have offended somebody never so little, as often happens, straightway the offended person lets fly a harsh word; and if with that word he perhaps misses his mark, nevertheless he causes dismay, while if he should hit the vital spot he has destroyed his victim forthwith. For the fact is, many are so constituted that they are overwhelmed and made to waste away by anything.

Not only so, but also sometimes one set of things is more potent with one kind of person and another with another; just as, I believe, each youngster fears some bogey peculiar to himself and is wont to be terrified by this—of course lads who are naturally timid cry out no matter what you produce to scare them—however, at least with these more important fellows, certain things are a source of shame with reference to certain persons. The beggar who is a

τὸν πτωχὸν τὸν[1] ἀλαζόνα καὶ θέλοντα φαίνεσθαι Κροῖσον ἐξίστησιν ὁ Ἶρος· καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν Ὀδύσσειαν ἀναγιγνώσκει διὰ τὸ

ἦλθε δ' ἐπὶ πτωχὸς πανδήμιος, ὃς κατὰ ἄστυ
πτωχεύεσκ' Ἰθάκης·[1]

21 τὸν ἐκ δούλων ὁ Κέκροψ,[2] τὸν εὐτελῆ τὴν ὄψιν καὶ καλὸν εἶναι βουλόμενον ὁ Θερσίτης. ἐὰν μὲν γὰρ ὡς[3] λίχνον ἢ φιλάργυρον σκώψῃς ἢ κίναιδον ἢ καθόλου πονηρὸν τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ σωφροσύνῃ κομῶντα καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιγεγραμμένον, ὅλον ἀπολώλεκας. ὁ Περσεὺς τὴν κεφαλὴν τῆς Γοργόνος περιφέρων καὶ ταύτην τοῖς ἐχθροῖς δεικνὺς ἐποίει λίθους· οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ ὑφ' ἑνὸς ῥήματος, ἐὰν ἀκούσωσι, λίθοι γεγόνασι· καὶ τοῦτο οὐ δεῖ περιφέρειν, ἐν πήρᾳ φυλάττοντα αὐτό.[4]

22 Καίτοι φέρε, εἰ καὶ τῶν ὀρνέων τὰς φωνὰς συνίεμεν, τῶν κοράκων ἢ κολοιῶν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων, οἷον βατράχων ἢ τεττίγων, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ταῖς τούτων φωναῖς ἂν προσείχομεν, τί λέγει περὶ ἡμῶν ὁ κολοιὸς ὁ πετόμενος ἢ τί φησιν ἡ κίττα καὶ τίνα ἔχει δόξαν. οὐκοῦν εὐτύχημα τὸ μὴ ξυνιέναι. πόσοι δὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν βατράχων εἰσὶν ἀφρονέστεροι καὶ τῶν κολοιῶν; ἀλλ' ὅμως κινεῖ τὰ παρὰ τούτων ἡμᾶς καὶ πάνυ κακῶς διατίθησιν.

[1] τὸν Emperius : δὲ.
[2] Κέκροψ] Κέρκοψ Geel.
[3] ὡς Crosby : εἰς.
[4] φυλάττοντα αὐτό] φυλάττοντα αὐτήν H, φυλάττοντα Emperius, φυλαττόμενον Pflugk.

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[1] *Odyssey* 18. 1-2. Irus' humiliation at the hands of Odysseus is a warning to braggarts.

braggart and seeks to appear a Croesus is confounded by Irus; and he does not even read the *Odyssey* because of the lines which say

> In came a public beggar, who through the town
> Of Ithaca was wont to beg his way.[1]

Just so Cecrops confounds the man of servile parentage, and likewise Thersites confounds the man of shabby appearance but with ambition to be a beauty.[2] The fact is, if by calling him a glutton or a miser or a catamite or a general blackguard you jeer at the man who plumes himself on his temperance and who has enrolled under the banner of virtue, you have ruined him completely. By carrying around the Gorgon's head and displaying it to his foes Perseus turned them to stone; but most men have been turned to stone by just one word, if it is applied to them; besides, there is no need to carry this around, guarding it in a wallet.

And yet let me add this: if we understood also the cries of birds—for example, of the ravens or the jackdaws—and of the other creatures such as frogs or cicadae, of course we should pay heed to the cries of these as well, eager to learn what the jackdaw flying by is saying about us, or what the jay is saying and what he thinks about us. It is a lucky thing, then, that we do not understand. But how many human beings are more empty-headed than the frogs and the jackdaws! Yet for all that, the words they speak excite us and make us utterly wretched.

[2] Cecrops and Thersites create confusion in different ways, the one because, as founder of Athens, his social position was secure, the other as a notorious example of an ill-favoured upstart humbled by his betters.

23 Οὐ μὴν ὅ γ' ἀφεὶς ἐλεύθερον ἑαυτὸν ἐπιστρέφεται τῆς τῶν πολλῶν φλυαρίας, ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν ἐκείνων ἀδολεσχίας καταγελᾷ, πάλαι δὴ πρὸς ἅπαντας εἰρηκώς,

οὐκ ἀλέγω, ὡσεί με γυνὴ βάλοι ἢ πάϊς ἄφρων·
κωφὸν γὰρ βέλος ἀνδρὸς ἀνάλκιδος οὐτιδανοῖο.

τὸν Ἡρακλέα τὸν τοῦ Διὸς πόσους οἴει βλασφημεῖν, τοὺς μὲν ὡς κλῶπα, τοὺς δὲ ὡς βίαιον, τοὺς δὲ καὶ μοιχὸν λέγειν ἢ τεκνοκτόνον; ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδὲν αὐτῷ τούτων ἔμελεν οὐδὲ ἦν ἴσως τις ὁ ταῦτα φανερῶς λέγων, ἐπεὶ παραχρῆμα ἂν ὑπέσχε τὴν δίκην.

24 Εἰ μὴ τῶν ἄλλων καταφρονῆσαι[1] πείσεις σαυτόν, οὐδέποτε παύσῃ κακοδαιμονῶν, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ βίον ἄθλιον ζήσεις καὶ χαλεπόν, πᾶσιν ὑποκείμενος τοῖς βουλομένοις λυπεῖν, καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ λόγου, λαγὼ βίον ζῶν. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν τοὺς κύνας καὶ τὰ δίκτυα καὶ τοὺς ἀετοὺς δεδοίκασι· σὺ δὲ τοὺς λόγους ἐπτηχὼς καὶ τρέμων περιελεύσῃ μηδεμίαν φυλακὴν φυλάξασθαι δυνάμενος, μηδ' ἂν ὁτιοῦν πράττῃς, μηδ' ἂν ὅπως βούλῃ διάγῃς.

25 ἀλλ' ἐὰν μὲν ἐμβάλλῃς συνεχῶς εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, ἀγοραῖος ἀκούσῃ καὶ συκοφάντης· ἐὰν δὲ τοὐναντίον φυλάττῃ τὸ τοιοῦτον καὶ μᾶλλον ᾖς κατ' οἰκίαν καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ, δειλὸς καὶ ἰδιώτης καὶ τὸ μηδέν· ἐὰν[2] παιδείας προνοῇ, εὐήθης καὶ μαλα-

[1] καταφρονῆσαι Casaubon : καταφρονήσας.
[2] After ἐὰν Arnim deletes δὲ, with some MSS.

[1] *Iliad* 11. 389-390, spoken by Diomedes in scorn of the wound just received from the arrow shot at him by Paris.
[2] Heracles might have been called ruffian on many an occasion; "thief" may allude to his theft of the dog

However, he who has asserted his independence pays no heed to the foolish talk of the crowd; rather he mocks at their loquacity, having indeed long since said in answer to them all,

> I care not; 'tis as if a woman threw
> At me, or else some witless lad; for blunt
> The missile of a feeble good-for-naught.[1]

Take Heracles, son of Zeus; how many, think you, were wont to disparage him, some dubbing him thief, some ruffian, some even adulterer or slayer of children?[2] Yet he was not at all disturbed by these taunts, though perhaps there was none who spoke them openly, since he would promptly have suffered for it.

Unless you bring yourself to look with scorn upon all others, you will never end your state of wretchedness; instead, you will always lead a pitiable, yes, a painful existence, being at the mercy of all who wish to hurt you and, as the saying goes, living a hare's life. Nay, hares fear the dogs and the nets and the eagles, but you will go about cowering and quaking before what people say, being utterly unable to provide yourself with any defence, no matter what you may be doing or if you spend your time in any way you please. If you are always rushing into the market-place you will hear yourself called a market idler and a shyster, whereas if, on the contrary, you are wary of that sort of thing and keep more at home and attend to your own affairs you will be called timid and an ignoramus and a nonentity; if you give thought to learning you will be called simple-minded

Cerberus; as for "slayer of children," in a fit of madness caused by Hera, his inveterate enemy, Heracles slew his own children, as we read in Euripides' *Heracles*.

κός· ἐάν[1] ἐπ' ἐργασίας ᾖς τινος, βάναυσος· ἐὰν σχολάζων περιπατῇς,[2] ἀργός· ἐὰν ἐσθῆτα μαλακωτέραν ἀναλάβῃς, ἀλαζὼν καὶ τρυφερός· ἐὰν ἀνυπόδητος ἐν τριβωνίῳ, μαίνεσθαί σε φήσουσιν.
26 Σωκράτην διαφθείρειν τοὺς νέους ἔφασαν, εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἀσεβεῖν· καὶ οὐκ εἶπον ταῦτα μόνον· ἧττον γὰρ ἂν ἦν δεινόν[3]· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπέκτειναν αὐτόν, ἀνυποδησίας δίκην λαμβάνοντες. Ἀριστείδην ἐξωστράκισαν Ἀθηναῖοι, καίτοι πεπεισμένοι σαφῶς ὅτι δίκαιος ἦν. τί[4] δεῖ δόξης ἐπιθυμεῖν, ἧς καὶ ἐὰν τύχῃ, πολλάκις οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ[5] ἀπώνατο;[6]

Τῷ Βίωνι δοκεῖ μὴ δυνατὸν εἶναι τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρέσκειν εἰ μὴ πλακοῦντα γενόμενον ἢ Θάσιον· εὐήθως,[7] ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν. πολλάκις γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐν δείπνῳ δέκα ἀνθρώπων ὁ πλακοῦς ἤρεσε πᾶσιν, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἕωλον εἶναί φησιν, ὁ δὲ θερμόν, ὁ δὲ λίαν γλυκύν· εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία Βίων φησὶν ὅτι καὶ θερμὸν πλακοῦντα καὶ ἕωλον δεῖ γενέσθαι καὶ ψυχρόν.[8] καθόλου δὲ οὐ τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τὸ πρᾶγμα·
27 πόθεν; ἀλλὰ καὶ μύρον δεῖ καὶ αὐλητρίδα γενέσθαι καὶ μειράκιον ὡραῖον καὶ Φίλιππον τὸν γελωτοποιόν. λείπεται δὲ ἓν ἴσως, ὃ δεήσει γενέσθαι τὸν θέλοντα ἀρέσαι τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἀργύριον. οὔκουν, κἂν ἀργύριον γένηταί τις, εὐθὺς ἤρεσεν· ἀλλὰ δεῖ ῥάττεσθαι καὶ δάκνεσθαι. τί οὖν ἔτι

[1] After ἐὰν Arnim deletes δέ, with some MSS.
[2] περιπατῇς Jacobs: προπετὴς or προπέτης.
[3] δεινόν added by Arnim.
[4] After τί Arnim adds οὖν, Emperius δή.
[5] After ἀγαθῷ Arnim deletes πολλάκις.
[6] After ἀπώνατο the MSS. read: δέον πολλάκις εὐλαβεῖσθαι, κἂν ἄρα συμβαίνει τινί, which Emperius deleted. Arnim suspects a lacuna.
[7] After εὐήθως Casaubon deletes ὡς.

and effeminate ; if you are in some business, vulgar ; if you stroll about at your leisure, lazy ; if you don rather soft apparel, ostentatious and dandified ; if you go barefoot and wear a ragged little coat they will say you are crazy. Socrates, they said, corrupted the young men, was irreverent toward religion ; moreover, they did not merely say these things—for that would have been less shocking—no, they even killed him, exacting a penalty for his lack of shoes ! Aristeides was ostracized by the Athenians, although they were clearly persuaded that he was just.[1] Why should one crave popularity, a thing from which, even if attained, one often derives no profit ?

Bion [2] believes it impossible for one to please the crowd except by turning into a cake or a jar of Thasian wine—foolishly so believing, in my opinion. For often even at a dinner of only ten guests the cake does not please everybody, but, on the contrary, one calls it stale, another hot, and another too sweet—unless, by Heaven, Bion means that one must turn into a cake which is both hot and stale and cold ! Nay, on the whole the case is not so simple as that ; of course not. On the contrary, one must also turn into perfume and a flute-girl and a lovely lad and a Philip the jester.[3] However, one thing possibly still remains which he who wants to please the mob will have to turn into—silver. Nay, even if one turns into silver one does not immediately satisfy ; instead, one must also be struck and bitten.[4] Why then, you

[1] Aristeides' sobriquet was "the Just."
[2] Cynic philosopher of the third century B.C.
[3] For Philip see Xenophon, *Symposium* 1. 1. 11-16.
[4] As a test of genuineness.

[8] καὶ ψυχρόν deleted by Arnim, καὶ στρυφνόν Emperius.

διώκεις, ὦ κακόδαιμον, πρᾶγμα ἀκίχητον; οὔτε γὰρ μύρον οὔτε στέφανος οὔτε οἶνος σὺ γένοιό
28 ποτ' ἂν οὔτ' ἀργύριον. κἂν ἀργύριον γένηταί τις, χρυσίον ἐντιμότερον, κἂν χρυσίον, ἐψηθῆναι δεήσει. τὸ γὰρ ᾧ διαφέρει[1] τῶν πλουσίων ἕκαστος ἔοικε τῷ νομίσματι. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐπαινεῖ μὲν οὐδείς, χρῆται δὲ ἕκαστος τῶν λαβόντων· ἔπειτα ὑπὸ τῶν χρωμένων ἐκτρίβεται καὶ τελευταῖον ἐν τοῖς ἀδοκίμοις ἐγένετο. κἀκεῖνος εἰς τοὺς πένητας παρηγγυήθη[2] καὶ τοὺς ἀδοκίμους, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτι τὸν τοιοῦτον προσίεται τῶν πρότερον τεθαυμακότων, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ στρέψας ἀπορρίπτει.[3]

29 Ταῖς τῶν τραγῳδῶν Ἐρινύσιν ἔοικεν ἡ δόξα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ φαινόμενον αὐτῆς λαμπρὸν ὅμοιον τῇ λαμπάδι, τὴν δὲ μάστιγα τοῖς κρότοις τις ἄν, οἶμαι, καὶ τῇ βοῇ τῶν πολλῶν προσεικάσειε, τοῖς δὲ ὄφεσι τοὺς ἐνίοτε συρίττοντας. πολλάκις οὖν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ τινὰ ὄντα καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοντα κακὸν ἁρπάσασα καὶ τῇ μάστιγι ψοφήσασα ἐξέβαλεν εἰς πανήγυρίν τινα ἢ θέατρον.[4]

[1] κἂν ἀργύριον . . . διαφέρει deleted by Arnim as being a revised version of οὔκουν, κἂν ἀργύριον κ.τ.λ. preceding.
[2] παρηγγυήθη Pflugk: παρεγγυηθείς.
[3] κἂν ἀργύριον . . . ἀπορρίπτει deleted by Budé.
[4] κἂν ἀργύριον . . . θέατρον deleted by Emperius.

luckless creature, do you persist in pursuing a thing unattainable ?[1] For you could never become either perfume or a crown or wine or yet silver. Besides, even if one should become silver, gold is more precious ; and if gold, it will have to be refined. Indeed, each rich man resembles money, as far as any excellence is concerned. For while no one praises money, each one who gets it uses it ; then it is worn out by those who use it and at last is found among the coins which do not pass current. So the rich man too comes to be reckoned among the poor and those who do not pass current and no one any longer receives a man like that of all who once were filled with admiration for him ; instead, they do not even turn him over before casting him aside.

Again, reputation is like the Furies of the tragic poets—its seeming splendour is like their torch, while one might, I fancy, liken their whip to the clapping and the shouting of the crowd, and those who sometimes hiss might be likened to the Furies' snakes. Therefore, often when one is enjoying peace and quiet and is confronted by no evil, reputation lays violent hands on him, and, cracking her whip, drives him forth to some festal gathering or to the theatre.

[1] Possibly a reminiscence of *Iliad* 17. 75 : *Ἕκτορ, νῦν σὺ μὲν ὧδε θέεις ἀκίχητα διώκων.*

# THE SIXTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE: ON POPULAR OPINION

Although its Greek title is the same as that of the preceding Discourse, Or. 67 gives to the word a different meaning, that of opinion. It is argued that opinion is a poor guide and that, in order to discover the truth about external things, one must first obey the famous motto inscribed on Apollo's temple at Delphi—Know Thyself—the motto which formed the basic principle of the philosophy of Socrates. Proceeding from this fundamental concept, the author demonstrates the futility of being swayed by the opinions of others.

Here again we have what professes to be the report of a conversation between Dio and one of his followers. The abruptness with which it begins and ends has led Arnim to conclude that Dio did not intend it to be published, at least not in its present form. He regards it as what might be termed a stenographic record, which in some way or other found its way into the hands of Dio's editor.

## 67. ΠΕΡΙ ΔΟΞΗΣ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΣ

1 Τίνι γὰρ δοκεῖ σοι διαφέρειν μάλιστα ὁ σώφρων ἀνὴρ καὶ φιλόσοφος ἡμῶν τῶν πολλῶν τε καὶ εἰκῇ[1] φερομένων;

Δ.[2] Ἐμοὶ μέν, εἰ δεῖ οὕτως ἀποφήνασθαι φαύλως τε καὶ ἀκόμψως, ἀληθείᾳ δοκεῖ διαφέρειν καὶ τῷ ἐπίστασθαι οὐ μόνον τῶν πολλῶν, ἀλλὰ τῶν πάνυ ὀλίγων τε καὶ μακαρίων νενομισμένων, τὸν[3] φιλόσοφον.

Τῷ ὄντι[4] μέντοι φαῦλον καὶ ἄκομψον τὸ ῥῆμα.

Δ. Καί μοι τόδε εἰπέ, πρὸς θεῶν· ἄλλο τι ἢ ἀληθείᾳ φῂς διαφέρειν τῶν ἄλλων τὸν φιλόσοφον καὶ τῷ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἕκαστον ἀλλὰ μὴ κατὰ δόξαν σκοπεῖν;

2 Φαύλῳ γὰρ ἄν, ὦ ἄριστε, κανόνι καὶ παντάπασι σκολιῷ μὰ Δί' οὐ μίαν τινὰ καμπὴν ἔχοντι, μυρίας δὲ καὶ πάσας ὑπεναντίας,[5] τὰ πράγματα σταθμῷτο τῇ δόξῃ πειρώμενος ἀπευθύνειν αὐτά.

Δ. Πότερον οὖν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα πρὸς ἀλήθειαν σκοπεῖ, τὴν δόξαν οὐδαμῇ προσφέρων ὡς

[1] εἰκῇ added by Casaubon.

[2] Arnim distributes the parts differently in this first section, assigning to Δ the opening question.

[3] τὸν deleted by Arnim, who begins the following sentence with Φιλόσοφον.

[4] After ὄντι Arnim adds οὐ.

[5] ὑπεναντίας Emperius : ἀπεναντίας or ἐπεναντίας.

# THE SIXTY-SEVENTH DISCOURSE: ON POPULAR OPINION

*Interlocutor.* Well, in what particular does it seem to you that the man of self-control, the philosopher, most especially is superior to us who constitute the majority of mankind and are moved by random impulse?

*Dio.* It seems to me, if one should express an opinion in such plain and unadorned terms, that he is superior in respect to truth and knowledge, not merely to the majority of mankind, but also to the very few, those who are regarded as favoured by fortune—the philosopher is, I mean.

*Int.* Indeed your statement is truly plain and unadorned.

*Dio.* Well, by Heaven, tell me this. You mean, do you not, that the philosopher is superior to all others in truth and in his examining each thing in the light of truth and not in accordance with opinion?

*Int.* Why, my good sir, he would be using a poor straight-edge with which to gauge his problems, one altogether crooked, a straight-edge, by Zeus, with not just one bend but thousands, and all running counter to one another, if he tried to set things straight by means of opinion.

*Dio.* Well then, suppose that he views all else in the light of truth, never applying opinion as a gauge,

ψευδῆ τινα τῷ ὄντι καὶ ἀστάθμητον στάθμην καὶ κανόνα τοιοῦτον, ὁποῖον ἄρτι εἴρηκας· αὐτὸς δὲ αὑτὸν τούτῳ τῷ κανόνι καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ στάθμῃ σταθμώμενος ἄξιος ἂν εἴη;

Οὐ μὰ Δί᾽ οὐδαμῶς.

Δ. Δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι οὐδέποτε γνοίη ἂν ἑαυτὸν οὕτω σκοπῶν.

Οὐ γὰρ ἂν γνοίη.

3 Δ. Ὥστε οὐκ ἂν ἔτι πείθοιτο τῷ Δελφικῷ προσρήματι κελεύσαντι παντὸς μᾶλλον γιγνώσκειν αὑτόν;

Πῶς γὰρ ἂν πείθοιτο;

Δ. Οὔκουν[1] οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν εἴσεται πραγμάτων αὑτὸν ἀγνοῶν οὐδὲ δυνήσεται πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἐξετάζειν αὑτοῦ πρώτου[2] ἐσφαλμένος;

Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.

Δ. Χαίρειν οὖν ἐάσει τιμὰς καὶ ἀτιμίας καὶ ψόγον τε καὶ ἔπαινον τὸν παρὰ τῶν ἠλιθίων ἀνθρώπων, ἐάν τε πολλοὶ τύχωσιν ὄντες ἐάν τε ὀλίγοι μὲν ἰσχυροὶ δὲ καὶ πλούσιοι. τὴν δέ γε καλουμένην δόξαν ἡγήσεται μηδὲν διαφέρειν σκιᾶς, ὁρῶν ὅτι γίγνεται τῶν μεγάλων μικρὰ καὶ τῶν μικρῶν μεγάλη· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ὁτὲ μὲν πλείων, ὁτὲ δὲ ἐλάττων.

Εὖ πάνυ δοκεῖς[3] μοι προσεικάσαι.

4 Δ. Εἰ οὖν τις εἴη τοιοῦτος ἄνθρωπος οἷος ζῆν πρὸς τὴν αὑτοῦ σκιάν, ὥστε αὐξομένης μὲν αὐτῆς

[1] Οὔκουν Dindorf: οὐκοῦν.
[2] αὑτοῦ πρώτου Emperius: αὑτὸν τοῦ πρώτου.

because he believes this to be, in fact, a false and untrustworthy measuring-line, a straight-edge such as you have just described it, yet if he should measure himself with that kind of straight-edge and that kind of measuring-line, would he be acclaimed as worthy?

*Int.* No, by Heaven, not by any means.

*Dio.* Yes, it is plain that he could never come to know himself if he examined himself in that fashion.

*Int.* Why, of course he could not.

*Dio.* Consequently he would no longer be obeying the Delphic injunction, which has prescribed that, above all, a man must know himself.

*Int.* Why, of course he would not be obeying it.

*Dio.* Then he will not know any of the other things either, since he does not know himself, nor will he be able to examine things in the light of truth, since he has failed with himself to begin with?

*Int.* Why, certainly.

*Dio.* Then he will bid farewell to honours and dishonours and to words of censure and of praise uttered by foolish persons, whether they chance to be many or whether they be few but powerful and wealthy. Instead, what is called popular opinion he will regard as no better than a shadow, seeing that sometimes concerning great matters popular opinion is small and concerning small matters great, and often concerning the same matters it is at one time greater and at another smaller.

*Int.* You seem to me to have made a very excellent comparison.

*Dio.* Suppose, then, there should be a person so constituted as to live with an eye to his own shadow, with the result that as it grew he would become

[3] Εὖ πάνυ δοκεῖς Selden: οὐ (or ᾧ) πάνυ δοκεῖ.

ἐπαίρεσθαι καὶ μεγαλαυχεῖσθαι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς θύειν αὐτός τε καὶ τοὺς φίλους κελεύειν, βραχυτέρας δὲ γιγνομένης λυπεῖσθαί τε καὶ ὁρᾶσθαι ταπεινότερος, καὶ τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ὅσῳπερ ἂν ἐλάττων γίγνηται, καθάπερ αὐτὸς φθίνων, θαυμαστὴν ἄν, οἶμαι, παρέχοι διατριβήν.

Πολύ γε ἂν εἴη τοῦ Μαργίτου κωφότερος,[1] ἀγνοοῦντος ὅ τι[2] χρὴ γήμαντα χρῆσθαι τῇ γυναικί.

5 Δ. Τῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ὁτὲ μὲν λυποῖτ᾽ ἄν, ὁτὲ δὲ χαίροι. πρωῒ μὲν ἐπειδὰν ἴδῃ[3] τὴν σκιὰν ἑωθινὴν πάνυ μακράν, τῶν τε κυπαρίττων καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς τείχεσι πύργων σχεδὸν μείζω, δῆλον ὅτι χαίροι ἂν ὡς αὐτὸς ἐξαπίνης γεγονὼς τοῖς Ἀλῳάδαις ἴσος καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν βαδίζοι ἂν καὶ εἰς τὰ θέατρα καὶ πανταχόσε τῆς πόλεως ὅπως ἂν ὑπὸ πάντων βλέποιτο. περὶ δὲ πλήθουσαν ἀγορὰν ἄρχοιτ᾽ ἂν σκυθρωπότερος αὑτοῦ γίγνεσθαι καὶ ἀναχωροίη. τῆς[4] δὲ μεσημβρίας αἰσχύνοιτ᾽ ἂν ὀφθῆναι ἀνθρώπῳ[5] τινὶ καὶ ἔνδον μένοι ἂν ἐγκλεισάμενος, ἐπειδὰν ἐν τοῖς ποσὶ βλέπῃ τὴν σκιάν· πάλιν[6] δὲ περὶ δείλην ἀναλαμβάνοι ἂν αὑτὸν καὶ γαυρότερος φαίνοιτ᾽ ἂν ἀεὶ πρὸς ἑσπέραν.

6 Πάνυ μοι δοκεῖς ἄτοπον διάθεσιν καὶ ἄνδρα διαπλάττειν ἠλίθιον.

[1] κωφότερος Valesius, μωρότερος Wilamowitz, ἀσοφώτερος Meiser: σοφώτερος.

[2] ὅ τι Valesius: ὅτι.

[3] ἴδῃ Wilamowitz: ἴδοι.

[4] τῆς Reiske: τὰς.

[5] ἀνθρώπῳ] ἀνθρώπων Wilamowitz.

[6] βλέπῃ τὴν σκιάν· πάλιν Emperius: βλέπῃ τ. σ. πρὶν ἢ MPH, βλέπειν τ. σ. παρῇ UB.

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[1] Hero of a satiric poem of the same name sometimes

elated and boastful and not only offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving to the gods himself but also bid his friends to do so, while as his shadow diminished he would be grieved and show himself more humble, and the more so the smaller his shadow became, just as if he himself were wasting away, methinks he would afford wondrous amusement.

*Int.* Yes, he would be a much bigger booby than Margites,[1] who did not know how to treat his wife once he had married her.

*Dio.* Yes, for on the same day sometimes he would be sad and sometimes happy. For instance, early in the day, when he saw his shadow at dawn very long, almost larger than the cypresses or the towers on the city walls, manifestly he would be happy, supposing himself to have suddenly grown to the size of the sons of Aloeus,[2] and he would go striding into the market-place and the theatres and everywhere in the city to be observed by one and all. However, about the middle of the morning he would begin to grow more sad of countenance than he had been and would go back home. Then at noon he would be ashamed to be seen by anybody and would stay indoors, locking himself up, when he saw his shadow at his feet; yet again, toward afternoon, he would begin to recover and would show himself ever more and more exultant toward evening.

*Int.* You certainly seem to me to be fashioning a strange disposition and a foolish kind of man.

ascribed to Homer by the ancients. Among the few lines now extant we get the following description of him: *πόλλ' ἠπίστατο ἔργα, κακῶς δ' ἠπίστατο πάντα.*

[2] They were said to have grown three cubits each year and, at the tender age of nine years, to have tried to scale the heavens by piling Ossa on Olympus and Pelion on Ossa.

Δ. Οὐκοῦν ὁ τῇ δόξῃ προσέχων οὐδέν τι βελτίων, ἀλλὰ πολὺ ἀθλιώτερος. πολλάκις γὰρ ἂν πλείους μεταβολὰς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ μεταβάλλοιτο, καίτοι οὐχ, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος, ἐν τεταγμέναις ὥραις τισίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δείλης καὶ ἕωθεν οὐδὲν αὐτὸν κωλύσει μὴ[1] δυστυχέστατον ἀνθρώπων εἶναι, νῦν μὲν φερόμενον καὶ πετόμενον ὑψηλότερον τῶν νεφῶν, ἂν τύχωσι μετεωρίσαντες[2] αὐτόν τινες καὶ ἐπαινέσαντες, νῦν δὲ συστελλόμενον καὶ ταπεινούμενον, πολὺ πλείους αὐξήσεις τε καὶ φθίσεις τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ λαμβανούσης, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ,[3] τῶν τῆς σελήνης.
7 ἆρ᾽ οὖν οὐκ ἀθλιώτερον πότμον καὶ μοῖραν εἴληχε πολὺ δυστυχεστέραν ἤ φασι Μελέαγρον τὸν Ἀλθαίας τε καὶ Οἰνέως τυχεῖν,[4] ᾧ δαλόν τινα λέγουσι ταμιεύειν τὸν τῆς ζωῆς χρόνον· καὶ δὴ λάμποντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐν αὐτῷ διαμένοντος ζῆν τε καὶ ἀκμάζειν ἐκεῖνον, μαραινομένου δὲ τοῦ δαλοῦ καὶ τὸν Μελέαγρον φθίνειν ὑπὸ λύπης τε καὶ δυσθυμίας· σβεσθέντος δὲ οἴχεσθαι ἀποθανόντα.

[1] μὴ omitted by MPH, bracketed by Arnim, Budé.
[2] μετεωρίσαντες Meiser, μακαρίσαντες Selden: μαρτυρήσαντες.
[3] δοκεῖ] δοκεῖν Dindorf.
[4] τυχεῖν deleted by Wilamowitz, λαχεῖν Pflugk.

*Dio.* Well then, he who pays heed to popular opinion is not a bit better, but rather far more pathetic. For often he would undergo several changes on one and the same day, yet not, like the man I have imagined, at certain definite times, but, alike in the afternoon or in the early morning, nothing will keep him from being the most unfortunate of mortals, now being swept along and flying higher than the clouds, if it so happen that any have sent him forth under full sail and have praised him, now taking in his sails and abasing himself, his spirit experiencing, methinks, far more waxings and wanings than the moon. Has he not, then, drawn a more wretched fate and a far more luckless lot than they say fell to Meleager, son of Althaea and Oeneus, whose span of life, men say, was in the keeping of a mere firebrand? So long as the brand blazed and the fire remained in it, just so long Meleager lived and throve, but as the brand lost its strength, he too wasted from grief and despondency, and when the fire went out he died and was gone.[1]

[1] During the famous boar-hunt associated with his name, by way of avenging a slight cast upon Atalanta by the brothers of his mother Althaea, he slew them out of hand. His mother, hearing of the deed, snatched the fatal brand from its place in the ashes, hurled it into the flames, and thus ended the life of her son.

# THE SIXTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE: ON OPINION

In this Discourse Dio once more approaches the subject of opinion as contrasted with knowledge. Here, however, he is stressing the practical utility of knowledge in one's daily life and business pursuits, in other words, the impossibility of achieving success in any walk of life when led by mere opinion rather than by a clear understanding of the things to be avoided or attempted and of the reasons on which one's choice should be based. Although some attention is paid to the unwisdom of following the opinion of one's neighbours, the principal emphasis is laid upon the necessity in each instance of substituting knowledge for one's own untutored opinions.

## 68. ΠΕΡΙ ΔΟΞΗΣ ΤΡΙΤΟΣ

1 Οἱ πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι ὁπόσα ἐπιτηδεύουσιν ἢ ζηλοῦσιν, οὐδὲν αὐτῶν εἰδότες ὁποῖόν ἐστιν οὐδὲ ἥντινα ἔχει ὠφέλειαν ἐπιτηδεύουσιν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ δόξης ἢ ἡδονῆς ἢ συνηθείας ἀγόμενοι πρὸς αὐτά· οὐδ' αὖ ὅσων ἀπέχονται καὶ εὐλαβοῦνται μὴ πράττειν, εἰδότες ἃ βλάπτει ἀπέχονται οὐδὲ ὁποίαν τινὰ φέρει τὴν βλάβην, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων ὅσα ὁρῶσι τοὺς ἄλλους εὐλαβουμένους ἢ περὶ ὧν ἂν εἰς ἔθος καταστῶσιν ὥστε εὐλαβεῖσθαι, ἢ ἃ νομίζουσιν ἀηδῆ ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖς καὶ πόνον τινὰ δοκεῖ ἔχειν, ὡς τὸ πολὺ ταῦτα ὑποπτεύουσιν.

2 Καὶ τὸ μὲν τῆς ἡδονῆς καὶ τὸ τοῦ πόνου πᾶσι κοινόν· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἧττον, οἱ δὲ[1] μᾶλλον ὑπ' αὐτῶν δουλοῦνται· τὸ δὲ τῆς δόξης ἀνόμοιον καὶ οὐ ταὐτὸ πᾶσιν. ὅθεν οἱ μὲν ταῦτα, οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ ψέγουσι, πολλάκις τἀναντία. οἷον ἀλγεῖ μὲν ὅ τε Ἰνδὸς καὶ ὁ Λάκων τιτρωσκόμενος ἢ καόμενος καὶ[2] ὅ τε Φρὺξ καὶ ὁ Λυδός· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὐχ ὑπείκουσι διὰ τὸ ἠσκηκέναι, οὗτοι δέ,

[1] οἱ δὲ Emperius : ἢ.
[2] καὶ added by Emperius.

# THE SIXTY-EIGHTH DISCOURSE: ON OPINION

Most men in all their pursuits and interests follow them in utter ignorance of what the nature of each is or even what practical value each has; instead, they are drawn to them by opinion or pleasure or habit. Nor, on the other hand, in the case of those pursuits and interests from which they abstain and which they avoid engaging in, do they abstain because they know which are harmful or what is the nature of the harm which they entail; instead, in these matters too, whatever they observe that their neighbours avoid or things which it has become their custom to avoid or which they suppose will be unpleasant for themselves and are reputed to be accompanied by some pain, these things they generally view with misgiving.

Moreover, while the sensations of pleasure and of pain are common to all men—though some are enslaved by them to a smaller and some to a greater degree—the matter of opinion varies and is not the same for all. Thus it happens that some praise or blame this and some that, frequently acting at variance in this regard. For example, pain is experienced by both the Indian and the Spartan when they are wounded or burnt, as well as by the Phrygian and the Lydian; yet while the Indian and the Spartan refuse to flinch because they have been hardened

διὰ τὸ ἀσθενεῖς καὶ ἀνάσκητοι εἶναι. πάλιν ἥδεσθαι μὲν ἀφροδισίοις καὶ σιτίοις καὶ ποτοῖς ἡδέσιν ἀνάγκη τόν τε Ἴωνα καὶ τὸν Θετταλὸν καὶ τὸν Ἰταλιώτην καὶ τὸν Γέτην καὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν καὶ τὸν Σπαρτιάτην· ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν οὐ πάνυ τι φροντίζουσι τῶν ἡδέων, ἀρχὴν δὲ οὐδὲ πειρῶνται ἁπάντων· οἱ δὲ ἀποθανεῖν ἕλοιντ᾽ ἂν ὀλίγῳ πλέον ἡσθέντες.

3 Τὸ οὖν τῆς δόξης ἔοικεν εἶναι παντοδαπώτατον καὶ πλείστη καὶ μεγίστη τούτου διαφορά. διὰ δὲ[1] τοῦτο ἐν οὐδενὶ γένει τῶν ζῴων εὕροι τις ἂν τοσαύτην στάσιν οὐδὲ οὕτως ἐναντίον αὑτῷ τι[2] γένος, οἷον ἵππων ἢ κυνῶν ἢ λεόντων ἢ βοῶν ἢ ἐλάφων, ἀλλὰ τρέφονταί τε ὁμοίως καὶ γεννῶσι καὶ τρέφουσι καὶ ἐπὶ ταὐτὰ ὁρμῶσι καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀπέχονται τὰ ὅμοια. μόνῳ γὰρ ξυνέπονται ὡς
4 τὸ πολὺ τῷ ἡδεῖ καὶ τὸ ἀλγεινὸν φεύγουσιν. ἄνθρωπος δὲ φύσει φρονήσεως μετέχων, ἀπολειπόμενος δὲ αὐτῆς διὰ φαυλότητα καὶ ῥᾳθυμίαν, δόξης καὶ ἀπάτης ἔνδοθεν μεστός ἐστι· καὶ πάντα ἀλλήλοις διαφέρονται, καὶ περὶ ἐσθῆτος καὶ στολῆς καὶ περὶ τροφῆς καὶ ἀφροδισίων καὶ περὶ τιμῆς καὶ ἀτιμίας, κατὰ ἔθνη[3] καὶ πόλεις· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ[4] πόλει καθ᾽ αὑτὸν ἕκαστος ἐσπούδακεν ὁ μὲν γῆν ὡς πλείστην κτήσασθαι, ὁ δὲ ἀργύριον, ὁ δὲ ἀνδράποδα, ὁ δὲ ξύμπαντα ταῦτα, ὁ δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῷ λέγειν θαυμάζεσθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῶν ἄλλων

[1] διὰ δὲ Crosby : διά τε.
[2] αὑτῷ τι Reiske : αὐτῷ τι or αὐτῶν τι (or τὸ).
[3] καὶ περὶ τιμῆς καὶ ἀτιμίας, κατὰ ἔθνη Pflugk : καὶ περὶ ἀτιμίας τὰ ἔθνη UBM, καὶ περὶ τιμῆς καὶ ἔθνη PH.

to it, the Phrygian and the Lydian do flinch, because they are weak and not hardened. Again, while pleasure inevitably is experienced in sexual relations and in food and drink which are pleasurable, not only by the Ionian but also by the Thessalian, the Italian Greek, the Getan, the Indian, and the Spartan, yet some are not particularly interested in the pleasures, but they do not even try them all to begin with, while the others would accept death as the price of obtaining a little more pleasure.

Now apparently the matter of opinion is of every conceivable kind and the differences to be found in this matter are very numerous and very great. And it is because of this fact that in no breed of animals would one find so great dissension, nor would one find any breed so at variance with itself—take, for example, horses or dogs or lions or cattle or deer; on the contrary, animals that are alike behave alike in feeding, in begetting, and in rearing their young, and they have the same appetites and the same aversions. The reason is that in general they follow only what is pleasant and shun what is painful. But the human race, which by nature partakes of wisdom, though it falls short of it through bad judgement and indifference, is inwardly full of opinion and self-deception. Moreover, men differ with one another in everything—in dress and apparel, in food and sexual pleasures, in honour and dishonour—according to nations and cities. And similarly also within the city, each one has his own individual ambition—one to obtain as much land as possible, another silver, another slaves, another all these things together, another to be admired for his eloquence and by this

[4] After τῇ Arnim adds αὐτῇ.

πλέον δύνασθαι, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸ μόνον δεινὸς εἶναι καὶ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν τὴν περὶ τὰ πράγματα[1] ἐζήλωκεν, ὁ δὲ ἀπ' ἄλλου τινὸς ἰσχύειν, ὁ δὲ τρυφὴν ὡς πλείστην ἐπιτηδεύειν.[2]

5 Τούτων μὲν οὖν, ὅπερ ἔφην, οὐδὲν ἄν, ὡς εἰκός, ὀρθῶς πράττοιεν οὐδὲ οἱ τὰ κράτιστα δοκοῦντες ἐπιτηδεύειν. οὐ γὰρ εἰδότες τὸ βέλτιον ἢ τὸ χεῖρον ἢ τὸ συμφέρον αἱροῦνται οὐδέν. ὅστις δ' ἐπεθύμησε φρονήσεως καὶ διενοήθη πῶς[3] χρὴ ἐπιμεληθέντα αὑτοῦ καὶ παίδευσιν τίνα[4] παιδευθέντα γενέσθαι ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν καὶ διαφέροντα τῶν πολλῶν, τοῦτον ἐγώ φημι φύσεώς τε χρηστῆς τυχεῖν καὶ τύχης ὁμοίας. ἐλπὶς γὰρ ζητοῦντα καὶ παιδευόμενον ἐξευρεῖν τὸ δέον καὶ πρὸς τί ὁρῶντα καὶ τί βουλόμενον πάντα τὰ ἄλλα χρὴ πράττειν καὶ οἰκονομεῖν.

6 Ὁ δὲ τοῦτο συνεὶς ἅπαντα ἂν ἤδη καλῶς διαπράττοιτο καὶ τὰ μείζω δοκοῦντα καὶ τὰ σμικρότερα· καὶ εἴτε ἱππικῆς ἐπιτηδεύοι ἀγωνίαν εἴτε μουσικῆς εἴτε γεωργίας ἐπιμελοῖτο εἴτε στρατηγεῖν ἐθέλοι ἢ ἄρχειν τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἢ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ κοινὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει πράττειν, εὖ πάντα ποιήσει[5] καὶ περὶ οὐδὲν ἂν σφάλλοιτο. ἄνευ δὲ τούτου καθ' ἕκαστον μὲν τῶν ἔργων ἐνίοτε αὑτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις φαίνοιτο ἂν κατορθῶν[6]· οἷον εἰ γεωργῶν ἐπιτυγχάνοι περὶ τοὺς καρποὺς ἢ ἱππεύειν[7] ἐμπει-

[1] τὰ πράγματα Pflugk : τὸ πρᾶγμα.
[2] ἐπιτηδεύειν H : ἐπιτηδεύει. [3] πῶς Emperius : ὡς.
[4] τίνα Emperius : τινα or τινα καὶ.
[5] εὖ πάντα ποιήσει M : καλῶς ἂν πάντα ποιήσοι PH, οὗτος πάντα ποιήσει UB, καλῶς ἂν πάντα ποιήσειε Emperius.
[6] κατορθῶν] κατορθοῦν Emperius.
[7] ἱππεύειν Reiske : ἱππεύων.

means to have greater power than his fellows, another strives merely to be clever and to achieve experience in politics, another to have influence for some other reason, another to indulge in luxury to the fullest extent.

Now, as I was saying, in no one of these pursuits, in all likelihood, would even those who are reputed to be best in their line carry it on successfully. For, not knowing what is better or what is worse or what is advantageous, they exercise no choice at all. But he who has desired wisdom and has given thought to how he should look after himself and what education he should receive in order to become a good man and superior to the masses, he, I say, has been blest with a good character and with a corresponding fortune besides. For there is hope that, if he investigates and receives instruction, he will discover what is required and with what aim and purpose he should carry on and regulate all else.

But he who understands this would from that moment be successful in all things, both those which are thought to be more important and those which are thought to be less; and whether he were to follow horse-racing or to devote himself to music or to agriculture, or if he should wish to be a general or to hold the other offices or to conduct the other public business in his city, he will do everything well and would make no mistakes in anything. However, without this understanding, while in each of his labours he might sometimes seem both to himself and to his neighbours to be successful—for instance, if as a farmer he were to be fortunate with his crops, or if he were to have more than ordinary acquaintance with the handling of horses, or if he were to have

ρότερος εἴη ἢ τὰ[1] κατὰ μουσικὴν ἱκανῶς γιγνώσκοι[2] ἢ ἀγωνιζόμενος δύναιτο τῶν ἀντιπάλων κρατεῖν, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν ἁμαρτάνοι ἂν πρὸς οὐδὲν ἀγαθὸν οὐδὲ ὥστε ὠφελεῖσθαι ταῦτα ἐργαζόμενος.

7 Οὔκουν δυνατός[3] ἐστιν εὐδαιμονεῖν, ὥσπερ οὐδ᾽ εὐπλοῆσαι δύναταί τις οὐκ εἰδὼς ἔνθα πλεῖ, μάτην[4] ἐν τῷ πελάγει φερόμενος, νῦν μὲν ὀρθῆς πλεούσης τῆς νεώς, ἂν οὕτω τύχῃ, νῦν δὲ ἀποκλινούσης, καὶ νῦν μὲν οὐρίου φερομένου τοῦ πνεύματος, πάλιν δὲ ἐναντίου. χρὴ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐν λύρᾳ τὸν μέσον φθόγγον καταστήσαντες ἔπειτα πρὸς τοῦτον ἁρμόζονται τοὺς ἄλλους· εἰ δὲ μή, οὐδεμίαν οὐδέποτε ἁρμονίαν ἀποδείξουσιν· οὕτως ἐν τῷ βίῳ ξυνέντας τὸ βέλτιστον καὶ τοῦτο ἀποδείξαντας πέρας πρὸς τοῦτο τἄλλα ποιεῖν· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀνάρμοστον αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκμελῆ τὸν βίον εἰκός ἐστι γίγνεσθαι.

[1] ἢ τὰ Reiske : εἴτε or ἤτε.
[2] γιγνώσκοι Wilamowitz : γιγνώσκων or γινώσκων.
[3] δυνατός Arnim : δυνατόν.
[4] After μάτην Emperius deletes δὲ ἄρτι with PH.

fairly good knowledge of music, or if in athletic contests he could overcome his competitors—still on the whole he would fail, since he would be working at these things to no good end nor in such a way as to derive benefit.

Therefore he is incapable of being prosperous, just as one cannot make a successful voyage if one does not know whither he is sailing, being carried along aimlessly on the sea, his ship at one moment sailing a straight course, should fortune so decree, but the next moment yawing, at one moment with the wind astern, the next with it dead ahead. Nay, just as with the lyre musicians first set the middle string and then tune the others to harmonize with that—otherwise they will never achieve any harmony at all—so with life, men should first come to understand what is best and then, having made this their goal, they should do everything else with reference to this ; otherwise their life will be out of harmony and out of tune in all likelihood.

# THE SIXTY-NINTH DISCOURSE: ON VIRTUE

The theme of this Discourse is the doctrine that the virtuous life is the happy life. Dio bemoans the fact that most men give their whole attention to so-called practical pursuits to the neglect of their spiritual well-being and development. Striving to attain success in any number of material enterprises, they miss true happiness through their failure to see that character is its sure foundation. Without good character laws are of little avail, and happiness is the gift of the gods, who are not inclined to favour ignorance and inattention to the needs of the soul. It is interesting to find Dio here expressing the belief that those who would commit a crime but are prevented from so doing through fear are as guilty as those who actually yield to the temptation.

# 69. ΠΕΡΙ ΑΡΕΤΗΣ

1 Ἄπορόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ὅτι οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἄλλα μὲν ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ θαυμάζουσιν, ἄλλων δὲ ἐφίενται καὶ περὶ ἄλλα ἐσπουδάκασιν. ἐπαινοῦσι μὲν γάρ, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, πάντες καὶ θεῖα καὶ σεμνά φασιν ἀνδρείαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ φρόνησιν καὶ συλλήβδην ἀρετὴν πᾶσαν. καὶ οὓς ἂν ἡγῶνται τοιούτους εἶναι ἢ γεγονέναι ἢ ἐγγύς, θαυμάζουσι καὶ ὑμνοῦσι· καὶ τοὺς μέν τινας θεούς, τοὺς δὲ ἥρωας ἀποφαίνουσιν, οἷον Ἡρακλέα καὶ Διοσκούρους καὶ Θησέα καὶ Ἀχιλλέα καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἡμιθέους λεγομένους. οἷς ὃν[1] ἂν ὅμοιον ὑπολαμβάνωσιν, ἕτοιμοί εἰσιν ἅπαντες ἐκείνῳ πείθεσθαι καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν, ὅ τι ἂν προστάττῃ, καὶ βασιλέα καὶ ἄρχοντα ἀποδεικνύναι ἑαυτῶν καὶ τὰ σφέτερα ἐπιτρέπειν ὃν ἂν σώφρονα καὶ δίκαιον καὶ φρόνιμον ὄντως ὑπολαμβάνωσι καὶ ἁπλῶς ἄνδρα ἀγαθόν.

2 Ὥστε ταύτῃ μὲν οὐκ ἄν τις αὐτοῖς μέμψαιτο ὡς οὐκ αἰσθανομένοις ὅτι σεμνόν τι καὶ τίμιον καὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἄξιον χρῆμα ἀρετή· ἐπιθυμοῦσί γε μὴν πάντων μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγαθοὶ γενέσθαι καὶ πράττουσι πάντα πρότερον ἢ ὅπως σωφρονήσουσι καὶ φρόνιμοι ἔσονται καὶ δίκαιοι καὶ ἄνδρες σπουδαῖοι, καλῶς μὲν αὑτῶν δυνάμενοι προΐστασθαι,

[1] οἷς ὃν Jacobs, ὧν ὃν Selden, καὶ ὃν Pflugk : ὃν or ὧν.

# THE SIXTY-NINTH DISCOURSE: ON VIRTUE

It seems to me a fact hard to explain, that people praise and admire one set of things yet aim at and have seriously pursued a different set. For instance, virtually all praise and refer to as "divine" and "august" such things as valour and righteousness and wisdom and, in short, every virtue. Moreover, whomever they believe to be, or to have been, characterized by such virtues, or nearly so, him they admire and celebrate in song; and certain ones they represent as gods and others as heroes—for example, Heracles, the Dioscuri, Theseus, Achilles, and all the demigods, as they are called. And whomever they suppose to be like those beings they one and all are ready to obey and to serve, no matter what orders he may give, and they are ready to appoint as their king and ruler and to make the guardian of their possessions any man whom they suppose to be really prudent and righteous and wise and, in a word, a good man.

Therefore in this respect no one could censure them as not perceiving that virtue is something august and precious and all-important; yet they really desire any and every thing in preference to becoming good, and they busy themselves with everything in preference to the problem of becoming self-controlled and wise and righteous and men of merit, competent

καλῶς δὲ οἶκον οἰκῆσαι, καλῶς δὲ ἄρξαι πόλεως, εὖ δὲ πλοῦτον ἐνεγκεῖν, εὖ δὲ πενίαν, εὖ δὲ προσενεχθῆναι φίλοις, εὖ δὲ συγγενέσι, δικαίως δ' ἐπιμεληθῆναι γονέων, ὁσίως δὲ[1] θεραπεῦσαι θεούς.

3 ἀλλ' οἱ μέν τινες περὶ γεωργίαν πραγματεύονται, οἱ δὲ περὶ ἐμπορίαν, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ στρατείαν ὁρμῶσιν, οἱ δ' ἐπ' ἰατρικήν, οἱ δὲ οἰκοδομικὴν ἢ ναυπηγικὴν ἐκμανθάνουσιν, οἱ δὲ κιθαρίζειν ἢ αὐλεῖν ἢ σκυτοτομεῖν ἢ παλαίειν, οἱ δὲ ὅπως δεινοὶ δόξουσι περ τὸ εἰπεῖν ἐν δήμῳ ἢ δικαστηρίῳ τὴν πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ἔχουσιν, οἱ δὲ ὅπως ἰσχυροὶ ἔσονται τὰ σώματα. καίτοι[2] τοὺς ἐμπόρους μὲν καὶ γεωργοὺς καὶ στρατιώτας καὶ ἰατροὺς καὶ οἰκοδόμους καὶ κιθαριστὰς καὶ αὐλητὰς καὶ παιδοτρίβας, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς λεγομένους ῥήτορας καὶ τοὺς πάνυ ἰσχύοντας τοῖς σώμασιν, ἀθλίους καὶ δυστυχεῖς[3] πολλοὺς ἂν εὕροι τις ἢ μικροῦ δεῖν ἅπαντας.

4 Ἂν δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ ἔμφρων γένηται καὶ ὁ νοῦς ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἱκανοὶ ὦσι τά τε αὑτῶν πράγματα ὀρθῶς πράττειν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων, τούτους ἀνάγκη καὶ εὐδαιμόνως ζῆν, νομίμους ἄνδρας γενομένους καὶ ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος τυχόντας καὶ φίλους ὄντας τοῖς θεοῖς. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλους μὲν φρονίμους εἰκὸς εἶναι, ἄλλους δὲ ἐμπείρους τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων, οὐδὲ ἄλλους μὲν τἀνθρώπεια ἐπίστασθαι, ἄλλους δὲ τὰ θεῖα, οὐδὲ ἄλλους μὲν εἶναι τῶν θείων ἐπιστήμονας, ἄλλους δὲ ὁσίους,[4] οὐδὲ ἄλλους μὲν

[1] ὁσίως δὲ Emperius, ὁσίως τε Wyttenbach : ὅπως δὲ (τε).
[2] καίτοι Emperius : καὶ.

to govern themselves well, to manage a household well, to rule a city well, to endure well either wealth or poverty, to behave well toward friends and kinsmen, to care for parents with equity, and to serve gods with piety. But some busy themselves with farming, some with trading, some are devoted to military affairs, some to the medical profession, some acquire a thorough knowledge of carpentry or of shipbuilding, some of playing the lyre or the flute or of shoemaking or wrestling, some devote their whole attention to gaining a reputation as clever speakers in Assembly or in law-court, some to becoming strong in body. And yet the traders, farmers, soldiers, physicians, builders, lyre-players, flautists, athletic trainers, yes, and the orators, as they are called, and those who have great strength of body—all these one would find to be pitiable and unfortunate in many, or indeed in almost all, instances.

On the other hand, if their soul becomes rational and their mind really good, and if they are able to manage successfully their own affairs and those of their neighbours too, these men will necessarily also lead happy lives, having shown themselves to be law-abiding, having obtained a good genius to guard them, and being dear to the gods. For it does not stand to reason that one set of men are wise and another set versed in human affairs, nor yet that some are conversant with human affairs and some with affairs divine, nor that some men have knowledge of divine things and others are pious, nor that some

[3] After *δυστυχεῖς* Pflugk adds *τούς*.

[4] After *ὁσίους* UB add *οὐδὲ ἄλλους μὲν δικαίους ἄλλους δὲ ὁσίους*, M *οὐδὲ ἄλλους δικαίους καὶ ἄλλους ὁσίους*.

[5] After *μὲν* PH add *καὶ δικαίους*.

ὁσίους, ἄλλους δὲ θεοφιλεῖς· οὐδὲ ἕτεροι μὲν ἔσονται θεοφιλεῖς, ἕτεροι δὲ εὐδαίμονες. οὐδὲ ἕτεροι μέν εἰσιν ἄνθρωποι ἄφρονες, ἕτεροι δ᾿ ἀγνοοῦσι τὰ καθ᾿ αὑτοὺς πράγματα· οὐδὲ οἳ τὰ σφέτερα πράγματα ἀγνοοῦσι, τὰ θεῖα ἴσασιν· οὐδὲ οἱ φαύλως περὶ τῶν θείων ὑπειληφότες οὐκ ἀνόσιοί εἰσιν. οὐδέ γε τοὺς ἀνοσίους οἷόν τε φίλους εἶναι θεοῖς, οὐδὲ τοὺς μὴ φίλους θεοῖς μὴ δυστυχεῖς εἶναι.

5 Διὰ τί ποτ᾿ οὖν οἱ[1] ὀρεγόμενοι ὅπως εὐδαιμονήσουσιν οὐ προθυμοῦνται[2] τοιούτους παρέχειν σφᾶς αὐτούς, ἃ δὲ πράττοντας οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς κωλύει κακῶς καὶ ἀθλίως ζῆν, πᾶσαν τούτων ἐπιμέλειαν ποιοῦνται; καίτοι ἄνευ μὲν αὐλητῶν καὶ κιθαριστῶν καὶ σκυτοτόμων καὶ παιδοτριβῶν καὶ ῥητόρων καὶ ἰατρῶν οὐκ ἀδύνατον ἀνθρώποις βιοῦν πάνυ καλῶς καὶ νομίμως, οἶμαι δ᾿ ἐγὼ καὶ
6 δίχα γεωργῶν καὶ οἰκοδόμων. Σκύθαι γοῦν οὐδὲν κωλύονται οἱ νομάδες μήτε οἰκίας ἔχοντες μήτε γῆν σπείροντες ἢ φυτεύοντες δικαίως καὶ κατὰ νόμους πολιτεύεσθαι· ἄνευ δὲ νόμου καὶ δικαίου μὴ κακῶς ζῆν ἀνθρώπους καὶ πολὺ τῶν θηρίων ὠμότερον[3] οὐ δυνατόν. ἔτι δ᾿ ὅπου μὲν φαῦλοι σκυτοτόμοι εἰσὶ καὶ γεωργοὶ καὶ οἰκοδόμοι, οὐδὲν ἐκεῖ διὰ τοῦτο συμβαίνει χαλεπόν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ὑποδήματα χείρω[4] καὶ πυροὶ ἐλάττους καὶ κριθαί· ὅπου δὲ ἄρχοντες χείρους καὶ δικασταὶ καὶ νόμοι,

[1] After οἱ Emperius deletes μέν.
[2] After προθυμοῦνται Emperius adds μέν.
[3] ὠμότερον UB : ἀνομώτερον MPH.

are pious and others dear to the gods; nor will a separate group be dear to the gods and another group be favoured by fortune. Nor is there one class of men who are fools but another class ignorant of their own affairs; nor are those who are ignorant of their own affairs informed about things divine; nor are those who have formed mistaken opinions about things divine free from impiety. And surely those who are impious cannot be dear to the gods nor those who are not dear to the gods be other than unfortunate.

Why in the world, then, do not those who aim to attain a happy life do their best to make themselves happy instead of devoting their entire attention to things which do not at all prevent their leading a bad, yes wretched, existence? Yet without flute-players and lyre-players and shoemakers and athletic trainers and orators and physicians it is not impossible for men to live very good and ordered lives, and, I fancy, even without farmers and builders. At any rate the Scythians who are nomads, though they neither have houses nor sow seed nor plant trees and vines, are by no means prevented from playing their part as citizens with justice and in accordance with law; yet without law and justice men cannot avoid living badly and in much more savage fashion than the wild beasts. Moreover, where shoemakers and farmers and builders are of inferior quality, no serious harm results on that account; it is merely that the shoes are inferior and the wheat and barley scarcer. On the other hand, where rulers and judges and laws are inferior, the

[4] *χείρω* added by Reiske, *χείρω καὶ τὰ οἰκοδομήματα* Wenkebach.

τὰ πράγματα κάκιον ἔχει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκείνων καὶ ὁ βίος δυστυχέστερος καὶ στάσεις καὶ ἀδικίαι καὶ ὕβρεις καὶ ἀσέβεια πολλὴ φύεται παρ᾿ αὐτοῖς.

7 Ἔτι δὲ σκυτοτόμον μὲν αὐτὸν οὐκ ὄντα λυσιτελεῖ παρ᾿ ἄλλου πρίασθαι ὑποδήματα, καὶ οἰκοδομεῖν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενον ἄλλον ἐπὶ τούτῳ μισθώσασθαι, καὶ γεωργὸν μὴ ὄντα σῖτον πρίασθαι καὶ ὄσπρια· ἄδικον δὲ αὐτὸν ὄντα οὐ λυσιτελεῖ τῶν δικαίων παρ᾿ ἄλλου τυγχάνειν οὐδὲ ἄφρονα καὶ ἀγνοοῦντα ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν καὶ ὧν ἀπέχεσθαι, μετανοοῦντα[1] ἐφ᾿ ἑκάστῳ πρὸς ἕτερον ἰέναι. πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁ μὲν ἀργυρίου δεόμενος ἢ ἱματίων ἢ οἰκίας ἢ ἄλλου του ἐπίσταταί τε καὶ ζητεῖ παρὰ τῶν ἐχόντων λαβεῖν· ὁ δὲ νοῦν οὐκ ἔχων οὐδὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπίσταται ὅτι οὐκ ἔχει νοῦν· ἀλλ᾿ αὐτός φησιν ἱκανὸς εἶναι καὶ ἰσχυρίζεται τῇ[2] ἀφροσύνῃ, πάντα πράττων καὶ λέγων ἀφρόνως, καὶ οὔ φησιν ἄδικος εἶναι οὐδὲ ἀνόητος οὐδὲ ἀκόλαστος, ἀλλ᾿ ὡς οἷόν τε ἱκανῶς περὶ ταῦτα ἔχειν, ὧν οὐδεμίαν πώποτε ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποιήσατο οὐδὲ ἔμαθεν οὐδὲν τούτων ἕνεκεν.

8 Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπιστήμην εἶναι νομίζουσι, καθ᾿ ἣν εἴσονται τί πρακτέον αὐτοῖς ἢ τί μὴ πρακτέον καὶ πῶς βιώσονται ὀρθῶς· ἀλλὰ τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῖς ἱκανοὺς εἶναι πρὸς τοῦτο τοὺς γεγραμμένους· ὅπως δὲ πείσονται τοῖς νόμοις καὶ ἑκόντες ποιή-

[1] μετανοοῦντα] μετὰ νοῦν Arnim.
[2] τῇ added by Emperius.

affairs of those people are in worse condition and their life is more unfortunate, and factions, injustices, deeds of arrogance, and impiety flourish in abundance with them.

Furthermore, though when one is not himself a shoemaker it is profitable to purchase shoes from another person, and when one does not understand building, to hire another person for that work, and when one is not a farmer, to purchase grain and pulse ; on the other hand, when one is himself unjust, it is not profitable to get his justice from another, nor, when one lacks wisdom and does not know what he ought to do and what he ought to refrain from doing, to be constantly regretting every single act and resorting for knowledge to another person. For, in addition to all the other considerations, he who needs money or clothing or house or anything else not only knows that fact but also seeks to get these things from those who have them ; whereas he who has no sense does not even know just this very fact, that he has no sense ; instead, he himself claims to be competent and obstinately persists in his folly, everything he does or says being witless, and he denies that he is unjust or foolish or lawless but insists that he is ever so competent in these matters, though he has never paid any attention to them or learned anything as far as those things are concerned.

In fact, these men do not even believe in the existence of a knowledge in accordance with which they will know what they ought to do or what they ought not to do and how they will live correctly ; nay, they believe that the laws are sufficient for them for that purpose, the laws on the statute books ; but how they are to obey the laws and voluntarily do

σουσι τὰ ἐκείνοις δοκοῦντα οὐδὲν φροντίζουσιν. καίτοι τί ἧττον ὁ φόβῳ τοῦ κλέπτειν ἀπεχόμενος, εὐδοκῶν[1] ἀλλὰ μὴ μισῶν τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ καταγιγνώσκων, κλέπτης τῶν ὑφαιρουμένων ἐστίν· εἰ μὴ καὶ τὸν ἡμέρας οὐ κλέπτοντα, ἀλλὰ νυκτὸς γενομένης, κλέπτην οὐ φήσομεν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἀλλὰ δίκαιον εἶναι; ἔπειτα δέονται πολλῶν τῶν ἀπειλούντων καὶ κολαζόντων, ὡς οὐ δυνάμενοι αὐτοὶ ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἀδικημάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἴκοι τοιοίδε[2] ὄντες· τοιοῦτοι δὲ ὄντες αἱροῦνται τοὺς νομοθέτας καὶ κολάζουσι τοὺς ἀνόμους,[3] ὥσπερ εἰ ἄμουσοι ὄντες ᾑροῦντο τοὺς μουσικοὺς καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπαΐοντες περὶ γεωμετρίας τοὺς γεωμέτρας.

9 Σημεῖον δὲ τῆς πονηρίας τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων· εἰ γὰρ ἀνέλοιεν τοὺς νόμους καὶ ἄδεια γένοιτο τοῦ τύπτειν ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀποκτείνειν καὶ ἁρπάζειν τὰ τῶν πέλας καὶ μοιχεύειν καὶ λωποδυτεῖν, τίνας ἔσεσθαι οἰητέον τοὺς ἀφεξομένους τούτων καὶ μὴ[4] πάνυ ῥᾳδίως τε καὶ ἑτοίμως ἅπαντα ἐξαμαρτεῖν βουλομένους; ὡς[5] τὸ νῦν γε οὐδὲν ἧττον λανθάνομεν μετὰ κλεπτῶν καὶ ἀνδραποδιστῶν καὶ μοιχῶν ζῶντες καὶ συμπολιτευόμενοι καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲν βελτίους τῶν θηρίων ἐσμέν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα ἂν φοβηθῇ ἀνθρώπους φυλάττοντας ἢ κύνας, ἀπέχεται τοῦ ἁρπάζειν.

[1] ἀπεχόμενος, εὐδοκῶν Capps: ἀπεχόμενος δοκῶν UBM, ἀπέχεσθαι δοκῶν PH, δοκῶν deleted by Arnim.
[2] καὶ οἴκοι τοιοίδε PH: καὶ οἴκοι UBM, κακοὶ Selden.
[3] ἀνόμους Post: νόμους.
[4] τούτων καὶ μὴ] τοῦ μὴ Arnim.
[5] ὡς] καὶ Arnim.

what those laws prescribe is a matter to which they give no serious thought. And yet how is he any less a thief who refrains from thieving out of fear, if he approves but does not loath and condemn the business, than those who actually commit theft—unless also he who does not do his thieving by day, but only after nightfall, is to be called no thief in daytime, but rather a man of probity? Besides, such persons require the presence of many to threaten and restrain them, since they are not able of themselves to refrain from their misdeeds, but even when at home are men of thievish disposition. However, though they are of such character, they choose the law-givers and punish the lawless, just as if persons who are unmusical were to choose the musicians, or as if those who know nothing of surveying were to choose the surveyors!

And here is an indication of the depravity of mankind. If men were to do away with the laws and licence were to be granted to strike one another, to commit murder, to steal the property of one's neighbours, to commit adultery, to be a footpad, then who must we suppose would be the persons who will refrain from these deeds and not, without the slightest scruple or hesitation, be willing to commit all manner of crimes? For even under present conditions we none the less are living unwittingly with thieves and kidnappers and adulterers and joining with them in the activities of citizenship, and in this respect we are no better than the wild beasts; for they too, if they take fright at men or dogs set to guard against them, refrain from thieving.

# THE SEVENTIETH DISCOURSE: ON PHILOSOPHY

This brief dialogue, like others in our collection, both begins and ends abruptly. It has the appearance of being an excerpt from a lengthier discussion, probably selected for publication because it contained a noteworthy tribute to the essential nature of philosophy. The rôle of the student in this document—if it was a student—is decidedly minor, consisting chiefly in assenting to the statements made by the principal speaker. Dio is emphasizing the crucial difference between pseudo-philosophers and those who are philosophers in deed as well as in word. In truly Socratic fashion he leads up to his main thesis by citing examples of pretence in fields such as farming, trading, hunting, and the like, showing in each instance that no one is misled by profession of interest unaccompanied by fitting conduct.

## 70. ΠΕΡΙ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΣ

1 Δ. Φέρε, εἴ τινος ἀκούοις λέγοντος ὅτι βούλεται γεωργεῖν, μηδὲν δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο πράττοντα ὁρῴης αὐτόν, μήτε βοῦς ὠνούμενον ἢ τρέφοντα μήτε ἄροτρα κατασκευαζόμενον μήτε τὰ ἄλλα τὰ πρὸς τὴν γεωργίαν σκεύη, μηδὲ ἐνοικοῦντα ἐν ἀγρῷ αὐτὸν ἢ[1] κεκτημένον ἢ[2] παρ' ἄλλου μισθωσάμενον, ἀλλ' ἐν ἄστει τὰ πολλὰ διατρίβοντα περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον καὶ περὶ πότους ὄντα καὶ ἑταίρας καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην ῥᾳθυμίαν, πότερον προσέξεις οἷς λέγει μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς πραττομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ; καὶ πότερα φήσεις γεωργὸν εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἐργάτην ἢ τῶν ἀργῶν καὶ ῥᾳθύμων;
Δῆλον ὅτι τῶν ἀργῶν.

2 Δ. Εἶεν· εἰ δὲ κυνηγέτης εἶναι λέγοι τις καὶ τὸν Ἱππόλυτον αὐτὸν ἢ Μελέαγρον ὑπερβάλλειν τῇ τε ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ τῇ φιλοπονίᾳ, μηδὲν δὲ φαίνοιτο πράττων ὅμοιον, μήτε κύνας κεκτημένος μήτε λίνα μήτε ἵππον μήτε ὅλως ἐπὶ θήραν ἐξιών, ἀλλὰ μήτε[3] ὑπὸ ἡλίου τὸ σῶμα ἐπικεκαυμένος μήτε ψύχους ἀνέχεσθαι δυνάμενος, ἐσκιατραφημένος δὲ καὶ ἁπαλὸς καὶ μάλιστα ἐοικὼς ταῖς γυναιξίν, ἔσθ'

[1] After ἢ Crosby deletes αὐτὸν μή, Wilamowitz also ἤ.
[2] ἢ added by Arnim.

# THE SEVENTIETH DISCOURSE: ON PHILOSOPHY

*Dio.* Come now, suppose you should hear some one say that he wants to be a farmer, but should observe that he is doing nothing toward that end, neither buying or raising cattle nor preparing ploughs or the other equipment needed in farming, nor even living on a farm himself, either as owner or as tenant of another, but rather in town, spending his time principally about the market-place and the gymnasium and occupied with drinking parties and courtesans and that sort of frivolity—in such a case will you treat seriously what he says rather than what he does? And will you say the fellow is a farmer and a producer, or one of the lazy and frivolous set?

*Interlocutor.* One of the lazy set, of course.

*Dio.* Very good. But suppose a man were to say that he is a huntsman, and that he surpasses Hippolytus himself or Meleager in both his valour and his diligence, but it should be obvious that he is engaged in no activity of that nature, since he has acquired neither dogs nor hunting-nets nor a horse and never goes out after game at all but, on the contrary, neither has been tanned by the sun nor is able to endure cold, but has been reared in the shade and is soft and very like the women, could you pos-

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[3] μήτε Emperius : μηδὲ.

ὅπως ὑπολάβοις ἂν τἀληθῆ λέγειν τοῦτον καὶ προσήκειν τι αὐτῷ κυνηγεσίων;

Οὐκ ἔγωγε.

3 Δ. Ἄτοπον γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων μᾶλλον οὓς λέγει τις ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων εἰδέναι καὶ τεκμαίρεσθαι τὸν ἑκάστου βίον. εἰ δέ τις ἐπαγγέλλοιτο μὲν[1] ὡς μουσικὴν ἄριστα ἐπιστάμενος καὶ περὶ τοῦτο διατρίβων, μήτε δὲ αὐτοῦ κιθαρίζοντος μηδεὶς πώποτε ἀκοῦσαι, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ κιθάραν ἢ λύραν ἔχοντα ὁρῴη τις, μήτε[2] λόγον τινὰ διεξιόντα τῶν κατὰ μουσικὴν δίχα γε τῆς ἐπαγγελίας καὶ τοῦ ἐπίστασθαι φάσκειν τοῦ Ὀρφέως ἄμεινον καὶ τοῦ Θαμύρα, βλέποι δ' αὐτὸν ἀλεκτρυόνας ἢ ὄρτυγας θεραπεύοντα καὶ τρέφοντα καὶ μετὰ τῶν τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων ὡς τὸ πολὺ διατρίβοντα, πότερον τῶν μουσικῶν τοῦτον δεῖ ὑπολαμβάνειν ἢ τούτων τῶν ἀνθρώπων μεθ' ὧν ἐστι καὶ οἷς ταὐτὰ ἐπιτηδεύει;

Δῆλον ὅτι τούτων.

4 Δ. Ἐὰν δὲ ἀστρονόμος εἶναί τις ὑπισχνῆται καὶ σαφέστατα ἐπίστασθαι τὰς περιόδους καὶ πορείας καὶ τὰ ἀποστήματα πῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς ἄλληλα ἡλίου τε καὶ σελήνης καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἄστρων καὶ τὰ οὐράνια πάθη, μηδὲν δὲ τοιοῦτον ᾖ προῃρημένος μηδὲ περὶ ταῦτα φροντίζων, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον συνὼν[3] τοῖς κυβεύουσι καὶ μετ' ἐκείνων ἑκάστοτε ζῶν καὶ βλεπόμενος, ἀστρονόμον τοῦτον φήσεις ἢ κυβευτήν;

[1] μὲν Emperius : τι or τις.
[2] μήτε Emperius : μηδὲ.
[3] συνὼν Reiske : σὺν.

[1] Like the more famous Orpheus, Thamyras—or Thamyris, as the name is sometimes given—was reputed to have been a

sibly believe that this man is telling the truth and that he has anything to do with hunting?

*Int.* Not I.

*Dio.* Correct; for it is absurd that we should know and pass upon every man's life on the strength of what he says rather than of what he does. Again, if some one should offer his services as an expert in music and as one who devotes his time to this, and yet no one should ever hear him either playing the cithara, nay, even see him holding a cithara or a lyre, or discanting on any subject related to music—that is, apart from his offering his services and saying that he has a better knowledge of music than Orpheus and Thamyras [1]—but if one should see him training and rearing game-cocks or quails and spending his time for the most part in company with those of like interests, ought one to conclude that he is a musician, or, on the contrary, one of the set with which he associates and whose pursuits are the same as his?

*Int.* Evidently one of that set.

*Dio.* Again, if one were to profess that he is an astronomer and that he knows most accurately how the orbits and courses and the intervening distances stand with relation to one another in the case of sun and moon and similar heavenly bodies, and also celestial phenomena, and yet the man has shown no predilection of this sort and has no serious interest in these matters, but rather prefers to associate with gamblers, lives his life in their company, and is seen with them day after day, will you call this man an astronomer or a gambler?

[1] Thracian bard of extraordinary skill. He is said to have challenged the Muses to a competition and, when defeated, to have been deprived of his sight.

Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δί' ἀστρονομίας ἡγησαίμην ἂν ἔγωγε προσήκειν αὐτῷ τι, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον κυβείας.

5 Δ. Δύο δέ τινων τοῦ μὲν λέγοντος ὅτι πλευσεῖται τὴν ταχίστην καὶ πολλὰ κερδανεῖ χρήματα ἀπὸ ἐμπορίας, μήτε δὲ ναῦς μήτε ναύτας παρεσκευασμένου μήτε φόρτον ἔχοντος μηδένα,[1] ἀλλὰ μηδὲ προσιόντος ὅλως τῷ λιμένι μηδὲ τῇ θαλάττῃ, τοῦ δὲ πραγματευομένου περὶ ταῦτα καὶ πλοῖον περισκοποῦντος καὶ κυβερνήτην καὶ χρήματα ἐμβαλλομένου· πότερον αὐτῶν φήσεις ἐμπορίᾳ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν; τὸν λέγοντα ἢ τὸν πράττοντα καὶ παρασκευαζόμενον τὰ τοῦ πλοῦ καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐμπορίας;

Ἐγὼ μὲν τοῦτον.

6 Δ. Ἐπὶ παντὶ ἄρα τὸν μὲν λόγον, εἰ καθ' αὑτὸν λέγοιτο, μηδενὸς ἔργου προσόντος,[2] ἄκυρον ἡγήσῃ καὶ οὐ πιστόν· τὸ δ' ἔργον αὐτὸ πιστόν τε καὶ ἀληθές, ἐὰν καὶ μὴ προάγῃ λόγος;

Οὕτως.

Δ. Πότερον οὖν γεωργίας ἐστί[3] τινα ἔργα καὶ σκεύη[4] ἢ ναυτιλίας καὶ ἄλλα τῷ κυνηγέτῃ προσήκοντα καὶ τῷ ἀστρονόμῳ καὶ ἔτι[5] τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι, φιλοσοφίας δὲ οὐδέν ἐστιν οἰκεῖον ἔργον οὐδὲ πρᾶγμα οὐδὲ παρασκευή;

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

7 Δ. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἄδηλα τὰ προσήκοντα τῷ φιλοσόφῳ καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἐμπόρων

[1] μηδένα Reiske: μηδέν.

[2] μηδενὸς ἔργου προσόντος Jacobs: μηδὲν περὶ τοῦ προσόντος

*Int.* Nay, by heaven, I would not consider that he had anything at all to do with astronomy, but much rather with gambling.

*Dio.* Again, given two persons, one of whom says he intends to sail immediately and will gain much profit from trading, although he has not provided himself with either ship or sailors, has no cargo whatever, but, in fact, never goes near the harbour at all, or even the sea; whereas the other occupies himself constantly with these matters, examining thoroughly a boat and putting on board a pilot and a cargo—which of the two will you say is seriously interested in trading? The one who says he is, or the one who works at it and provides himself with all that the voyage and the business of trading demand?

*Int.* I should say the latter.

*Dio.* In every matter, then, will you consider that the word alone, unaccompanied by any act, is invalid and untrustworthy, but that the act alone is both trustworthy and true, even if no word precedes it?

*Int.* Just so.

*Dio.* Well then, if there are certain functions and articles of equipment peculiar to farming or to seafaring and different ones appropriate to the hunter, the astronomer, and all other professions as well, then has philosophy no function peculiar to itself, no activity, no equipment?

*Int.* Most assuredly it has.

*Dio.* Well, are those things obscure which belong to the philosopher and to philosophy, while those

M, μηδὲν ἔχων περὶ τοῦ προσόντος UB, περὶ τοῦ προσόντος μηδὲν PH. [3] ἐστί Reiske: εἶναι.

[4] σκευή] περὶ σκευή MH, παρασκευή Jacobs.

[5] ἔτι PH: ἐπὶ UBM, which Wilamowitz deletes.

καὶ γεωργῶν καὶ μουσικῶν καὶ ἀστρονόμων καὶ ὧν νῦν δὴ εἶπον ἔκδηλα καὶ φανερά;

Οὔ μοι δοκεῖ.

Δ. Ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ λόγοι τινές εἰσιν ὧν δεῖ τὸν φιλοσοφοῦντα ἀκούειν, καὶ μαθήματα ἃ δεῖ μανθάνειν, καὶ δίαιτα ἣν δεῖ διαιτᾶσθαι, καὶ καθόλου βίος ἄλλος μὲν τοῦ φιλοσοφοῦντος, ἄλλος δὲ τῶν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων· ὁ μὲν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν καὶ φρόνησιν τείνων[1] καὶ θεῶν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ θεραπείαν καὶ[2] τῆς αὑτοῦ[3] ψυχῆς—μακρὰν ἀπ'[4] ἀλαζονείας καὶ ἀπάτης καὶ τρυφῆς—εὐτέλειάν τε καὶ σωφροσύνην.

8 Καὶ γὰρ στολὴ ἑτέρα μὲν τοῦ φιλοσοφοῦντος, ἑτέρα δὲ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν καὶ κατάκλισις καὶ γυμνάσια καὶ λουτρὰ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη δίαιτα, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἀκολουθοῦντα καὶ[5] χρώμενον τούτοις δεῖ νομίζειν ὡς φιλοσοφίᾳ προσέχοντα τὸν νοῦν· τὸν δὲ ἐν μηδενὶ τούτων διαφέροντα μηδὲ ὅλως ἕτερον ὄντα τῶν πολλῶν οὐχ[6] ἕνα ἐκείνων θετέον, κἂν μυριάκις εἴπῃ τε καὶ ἐπαγγείληται φιλοσοφεῖν ἐναντίον τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἢ Μεγαρέων ἢ παρὰ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεῦσιν· ἀλλ' ὠστέον τοῦτον τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰς τοὺς ἀλαζόνας καὶ ἀνοήτους καὶ τρυφερούς.

9 Καίτοι μουσικὸν μὲν οὐκ ἀδύνατον εἶναι μὴ πράττοντα τὰ τοῦ μουσικοῦ· ἡ γὰρ μουσικὴ οὐκ ἀναγκάζει[7] προσέχειν[8] αὐτῇ[9] τὸν νοῦν καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο ποιεῖσθαι περὶ πλείονος· καὶ ἀστρονόμον

[1] τείνων Selden : τιμῶν. [2] καὶ omitted by MPH.
[3] αὑτοῦ Emperius : αὐτοῦ.
[4] ἀπ' added by Capps.
[5] After καὶ Emperius deletes τὸν.
[6] οὐχ added by Arnim.

which belong to the traders and farmers and musicians and astronomers and those whom I have just named are conspicuous and manifest?

*Int.* No, I think not obscure.

*Dio.* But surely there are certain words which one who goes in for philosophy must hear, and studies which he must pursue, and a regimen to which he must adhere, and, in a word, one kind of life belongs to the philosopher and another to the majority of mankind: the one tends toward truth and wisdom and toward care and cultivation of the gods, and, as regards one's own soul, far from false pretence and deceit and luxury, toward frugality and sobriety.

And, in fact, there is one kind of dress for the philosopher and another for the layman, and the same holds good as to table manners and gymnasia and baths and the mode of living generally, and he who is guided by and employs these distinctions must be thought to be devoted to philosophy; whereas he who does not differ in any of these matters and is not at all unlike the world in general must not be classified as a philosopher, not even if he says he is a thousand times and makes public profession of philosophy before the popular assembly of Athens or of Megara or in the presence of the kings of Sparta; instead, we must banish this man to the company of impostors and fools and voluptuaries.

And yet it is not impossible to be musical without engaging in musical activities; for the art of music does not compel one to devote his attention to it and to regard nothing else of greater moment. Again,

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[7] *ἀναγκάζει* Reiske: *ἀνάγκη* B, *ἀναγκάσει* UMPH.

[8] After *προσέχειν* Jacobs adds *ἀεὶ*.

[9] *αὑτῇ* Emperius: *αὐτῇ* or *αὐτὴ*.

ὄντα οὐδὲν ἴσως κωλύει τρέφειν ἀλεκτρυόνας ἢ κυβεύειν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἡ ἀστρονομία ἐμποδών ἐστι τῷ μὴ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν· καὶ νὴ Δία ἱππικὸν γενόμενον ἢ κυβερνήτην ἀγαθὸν ἢ γεωμέτρην ἢ γράμματα εἰδότα οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν ἢ[1] παρὰ ταῖς ἑταίραις ἢ ταῖς αὐλητρίσιν ὁρᾶσθαι. τὸ γὰρ ταῦτα ἐπίστασθαι οὐδὲν ποιεῖ βελτίω τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴν οὐδὲ ἀποτρέπει τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων· φιλοσοφίᾳ δὲ προσέχων τις καὶ μετασχὼν τούτου τοῦ μαθήματος οὐκ ἄν ποτε ἀποσταίη τῶν βελτίστων, οὐδὲ τούτων ἀμελήσας αἰσχρόν τι καὶ φαῦλον προέλοιτ᾿ ἂν πράττειν οὐδὲ ἀργεῖν καὶ ὀψοφαγεῖν καὶ μεθύσκεσθαι. τὸ γὰρ ταῦτα μὴ[2] θαυμάζειν καὶ τὴν τούτων ἐπιθυμίαν ἐξαιρεῖν[3] τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοὐναντίον εἰς μῖσος αὐτῶν καὶ κατάγνωσιν προάγειν[4] φιλοσοφία ἐστίν.[5] τὸ δέ γε φῆσαι φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ ἀλαζονεύεσθαι καὶ αὑτὸν ἐξαπατῆσαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οὐδὲν ἴσως κωλύει.

[1] ἢ omitted by M.
[2] μὴ deleted by Wilamowitz with M.
[3] ἐξαιρεῖν] ἐξαιρεῖ Wilamowitz, ἐξαίρειν BM.
[4] προάγειν] προάγει Wilamowitz with M.
[5] φιλοσοφία ἐστίν deleted by Wilamowitz with M.

if one is an astronomer, possibly nothing prevents his keeping game-cocks or throwing dice ; for in no wise does astronomy prevent his doing what is necessary ! Furthermore, by Heaven, if one has become an expert horseman, or a good pilot, or a surveyor, or a literary critic, it is nothing surprising that he should be seen in the apartments of either the courtesans or the flute-girls. For the knowledge of those skills does not make the human soul one whit better or turn it aside from its errors ; but if one is devoted to philosophy and partakes of this study, one could never desert the highest things, nor, neglecting these things, could he prefer to engage in anything which is shameful and low, or to be lazy and gluttonous and drunken. For to refuse to admire these things and to banish the desire for them from the soul and on the other hand, to lead the soul to hate and condemn them, is the essence of philosophy. However, possibly there is nothing to prevent one's claiming to be a philosopher and at the same time playing the impostor and deceiving himself and everybody else.

# THE SEVENTY-FIRST DISCOURSE: ON THE PHILOSOPHER

In this Discourse Dio examines the statement that "the philosopher should be remarkable in everything." As examples of versatility he considers Hippias of Elis, the well-known sophist, and Odysseus, each of whom exhibited a high degree of skill in both intellectual and manual pursuits. While admitting their claim to excellence, Dio maintains that the philosopher should be able to excel all men above all in "acting, or not acting, advantageously, and in knowing when to act and where and the right moment better than the craftsman, and also in knowing what is possible of achievement." This dictum (§ 6) is illustrated by reference to Daedalus and other skilled artificers, who failed of real excellence because they were ignorant in just those respects. The Discourse concludes with a sarcastic allusion to Nero's varied ambitions.

# 71. ΠΕΡΙ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΥ

1 Εἰσὶν οἵ φασι δεῖν πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν εἶναι περιττὸν τὸν φιλόσοφον· καὶ ὁμιλῆσαι ἀνθρώποις φασὶ δεῖν εἶναι δεινότατον καὶ μηδέποτε σιγᾶν μηδὲ ἀπορεῖν λόγων τοιούτων πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας οἳ δυνήσονται τέρπειν αὐτούς· εἰ δὲ μή, φασὶν ἰδιώτην εἶναι τὸν μὴ παρεσκευασμένον οὕτως καὶ ὀλίγου ἄξιον. ἐγὼ δέ φημι τὰ μὲν δίκαια καὶ ἀληθῆ λέγειν
2 αὐτούς, τὰ δὲ οὔ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ διαφέρειν πανταχοῦ τὸν φιλόσοφον τῶν ἄλλων δοκοῦσί μοι ὀρθῶς ἀξιοῦν· πλὴν εἰ μή γε[1] καὶ τὰς τέχνας φασὶ δεῖν αὐτὸν ἁπάσας εἰδέναι καὶ βέλτιον κατὰ τὴν τέχνην ἅπαντα ποιεῖν τῶν δημιουργῶν, οἰκίας τε οἰκοδομούμενον καὶ πλοῖα ναυπηγούμενον καὶ χαλκεύοντα καὶ ὑφαίνοντα καὶ γεωργοῦντα· ὥσπερ ὁ Ἠλεῖος Ἱππίας ἠξίου σοφώτατος εἶναι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὐ μόνον ποιήματα παντοδαπὰ καὶ λόγους αὑτοῦ ποικίλους προφέρων Ὀλυμπίασί τε καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πανηγύρεσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἐπιδεικνὺς[2] ἔργα, τόν τε δακτύλιον καὶ τὴν λήκυθον καὶ στλεγγίδα καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον[3] καὶ τὴν

[1] μή γε Emperius : μήτε, μή τι, or μή.
[2] ἐπιδεικνὺς deleted by Arnim.

# THE SEVENTY-FIRST DISCOURSE: ON THE PHILOSOPHER

There are those who say that the philosopher should be remarkable in everything in any surroundings; moreover, they say that he should be very able in conversation with men and never keep silent or be at a loss before those in his company for lack of such language as will be capable of pleasing them; otherwise, they say, he who is not thus equipped is an ignoramus and worth but little. But I say that, though some of their statements are just and truthful, some are not. For that the philosopher should in every situation be superior to all others, it seems to me they are right in demanding—unless they mean that he must not only know all the crafts but also, in accordance with the rules of the craft, produce everything better than the craftsmen, both building houses and making boats and working as a smith and weaving and farming. For example, Hippias of Elis claimed to be the wisest of the Greeks, for both at the Olympic Games and at the other national gatherings of the Greeks he produced poems of every style and speeches which he had composed of divers kinds, but he also displayed other products of his——his ring, his oil-flask and strigil, his mantle, and

[3] *τὸ ἱμάτιον* Wilamowitz: *ἱμάντα* or *ἷμα*.

ζώνην ὡς ἅπαντα πεποιηκὼς αὐτός, οἷον ἀπαρχὰς τῆς σοφίας τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπιδεικνύων.

3 Σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος Ὀδυσσέα πεποίηκεν οὐ μόνον γνώμῃ διαφέροντα καὶ τῷ δύνασθαι περὶ πραγμάτων βουλεύεσθαι καὶ λέγειν δεινότατον[1] ἔν τε πλήθει καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγους καὶ πρὸς ἕνα, καὶ νὴ Δία γε ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τε καὶ παρὰ πότον καὶ εἰ τύχοι μετά τινος βαδίζων ὁδόν, καὶ πρὸς βασιλέα καὶ πρὸς ἰδιώτην, καὶ πρὸς ἐλεύθερον καὶ πρὸς δοῦλον, καὶ αὐτὸν ἔνδοξον[2] ὄντα καὶ βασιλέα καὶ αὖ πάλιν ἀγνοούμενον καὶ πτωχόν, καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρα τε ὁμοίως καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ κόρην, ἔτι δὲ μάχεσθαι ἐπιστάμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἁπάντων ἔμπειρον, τεκτονικῆς καὶ οἰκοδομίας καὶ
4 ναυπηγικῆς. πῶς γὰρ ἂν τὸ λέχος ἐποίησεν ἀποκόψας τὸν[3] τῆς ἐλαίας θαλλόν, εἰ μὴ τεκτονικῆς ἐπιστήμων ἦν; πῶς δ᾽ ἂν περιέβαλε τὸν θάλαμον, εἰ μὴ καὶ οἰκοδομῆσαι ἠπίστατο; πῶς δ᾽ ἂν εἰργάσατο τὴν σχεδίαν οὐκ ὢν ἔμπειρος ναυπηγίας; τὰ δὲ περὶ φυτείαν καὶ γεωργίαν εὐθὺς ἐκ παιδὸς[4] ἐσπουδακὼς φαίνεται παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς δένδρα αἰτῶν καὶ ἀμπέλους· ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς γεωργοῦ ὄντος πάνυ ἐπιμελοῦς τε καὶ

[1] δεινότατον Arnim : δεινότατα.
[2] καὶ αὐτὸν ἔνδοξον Emperius : καὶ τὸν ἔνδοξον UB, τὸν ἔνδοξον M, καὶ πρὸς ἔνδοξον PH.
[3] τὸν Reiske with C : τόν γε or τόν τε.
[4] παιδὸς Capps : παίδων.

[1] The versatility of Hippias, well-known sophist of the fifth century, was a familiar topic; cf. Plato, *Hippias Minor* 368 B–D.

his girdle—boasting that he had made them all himself, displaying them to the Greeks as a kind of firstfruits of his wisdom.[1]

And Homer too, I venture to remark, has represented Odysseus, not merely as pre-eminent in judgement and in his ability to plan concerning practical matters, not merely as a most able speaker,[2] whether in a crowd or before a few or before only one person—yes, by Heaven, both in assembly and over the wine-cups and on occasions when walking with somebody on a journey—whether in the presence of king or of commoner, freeman or slave, no matter whether he was himself held in honour and recognized as king or, on the other hand, unknown and a beggar, and, moreover, alike when addressing either man or woman or maiden; but he also makes him pre-eminent for his knowledge of the art of combat, and he has even represented him as skilled in all such crafts as those of the joiner, the carpenter, and the shipwright. For instance, how could Odysseus have constructed his bed by cutting off the trunk of an olive tree if he were not acquainted with the joiner's art?[3] How could he have enclosed his bed-chamber if he had not been acquainted with the builder's art? How could he have built his raft if he had not understood ship-building?[4] As for the operations connected with planting and husbandry, he obviously had shown a serious interest in all that from his very boyhood, since he begged his father for trees and vines[5]; and especially, since his father was a very careful and experienced farmer, it was to be

[2] See especially Homer's tribute to his oratory in *Iliad* 3. 216-224.
[3] *Odyssey* 23. 184-204.
[4] *Ibid.* 5. 234-261.
[5] *Ibid.* 24. 336-344.

ἐμπείρου εἰκὸς ἦν αὐτὸν ταῦτα μὴ ἀγνοεῖν, ὅπου γε καὶ προκαλεῖται τὸν Εὐρύμαχον καὶ ἀμῆσαι καὶ ἀρόσαι. ἀλλά φησι καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἔμπειρος εἶναι, μαγειρικῆς τε καὶ οἰνοχοΐας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἁπάσης διακονίας, ἅ φησι τοὺς χείρονας τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς διακονεῖσθαι.

5 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἴσως Ἱππίας καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς δεινὼ ἤστην· ἐγὼ δέ φημι τὸν φιλόσοφον τὰς μὲν τέχνας οὐχ οἷόν τε εἶναι πάσας εἰδέναι—χαλεπὸν γὰρ καὶ μίαν ἀκριβῶς ἐργάσασθαι—ποιῆσαι δ' ἂν ἅπαντα βέλτιον ὅ τι ἂν τύχῃ ποιῶν τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὰς τέχνας, ἂν ἄρα ἀναγκασθῇ ποτε ἅψασθαι τοιούτου τινός, οὐ κατὰ τὴν τέχνην διαφέροντα· τοῦτο γὰρ οὐχ οἷόν τε, τοῦ τέκτονος τὸν ἰδιώτην ἄμεινον ποιῆσαί τι κατὰ τὴν τεκτονικὴν ἢ τοῦ γεωργοῦ τὸν οὐκ ὄντα γεωργίας ἔμπειρον ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν τι τῶν γεωργικῶν ἐμπειρότερον φανῆναι.

6 Ποῦ δ' ἂν διαφέροι; τῷ συμφερόντως ποιεῖν ἢ μὴ ποιεῖν καὶ ὅτε δεῖ καὶ ὅπου καὶ τὸν καιρὸν γνῶναι τοῦ δημιουργοῦ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ δυνατόν. αὐτίκα οὐ δοκεῖ μοι Δαίδαλος καλῶς εἰργάσθαι ἐν Κρήτῃ τὸν Λαβύρινθον, οὗ εἰσερχόμενοι ἀπώλλυντο οἱ πολῖται αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ πολίτιδες· οὐ γάρ[1] δικαίως εἰργάσατο. συμπράττων δ' αὖ[2] τῇ νόσῳ τῆς Πασιφάης οὐκ ὀρθῶς εἰργάσατο· οὐ γὰρ

[1] οὐ γάρ] οὐδ' αὖ Jacobs.
[2] συμπράττων δ' αὖ, with full stop after εἰργάσατο, Arnim, οὐδὲ συμπράττων Emperius : συμπράττων.

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[1] *Odyssey* 18. 366-375. [2] *Ibid.* 15. 319-324.

expected that Odysseus would not be ignorant of these matters, yes, he even challenges Eurymachus to a contest in both reaping and ploughing.[1] Why, Odysseus claims to be acquainted also with such matters as cookery and wine-serving and all other departments of domestic service, matters wherein he says that those of lower rank serve the nobles.[2]

Very well, in these respects no doubt Hippias and Odysseus were a clever pair; but I say that the philosopher, while unable to know every one of the crafts—for it is difficult to be thoroughly proficient in the practice of even one—nevertheless could do everything, no matter what he might be doing, better than anybody else, even though from the point of view of the crafts, if he really is ever compelled to tackle anything of that nature, he is not superior when measured by the standard of craftsmanship. For this is an impossibility, that the layman should produce anything better than the joiner by the standard of the joiner's craft, or that one who lacks experience in farming should be found more expert than the farmer in performing any of the tasks of the farmer.

Wherein, then, would the philosopher be superior? It would be in his acting, or not acting, advantageously, and in his knowing when to act and where and the right moment better than the craftsman, and also in his knowing what is possible of achievement. For instance, I believe that Daedalus did not build his Labyrinth in Crete well—entering which his fellow citizens, both male and female, met their death[3]—for he did not build it justly. And besides, in abetting the malady of Pasiphaë he wrought not

[3] The Athenian youths and maidens sent every ninth year to King Minos.

*συνέφερεν οὐδὲ ἦν δίκαιον οὐδὲ καλὸν τοιαῦτα συμπράττειν οὐδὲ μηχανὰς εὑρίσκειν ἐπὶ τὰ αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἀνόσια. οὐδὲ ὡς τὸν Ἴκαρον ἐπτέρωσεν, εἰ χρὴ πιστεύειν τῷ μύθῳ, καλῶς ἐξευρεῖν φημι τήνδε τὴν μηχανήν· οὐ γὰρ δυνατὰ ἐμηχανᾶτο πτέρυγας ἀνθρώπῳ προστιθείς. οὐκοῦν διέφθειρε τὸν υἱόν.*

7 *Ἔοικε δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος λοιδορεῖν τινα τέκτονα τῶν Τρώων, ὡς*[1] *οὐ καλῶς ἐργασάμενον τὰς ναῦς τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ αἷς ἔπλευσεν*[2] *εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, οὐδὲν ἔχων αἰτιάσασθαι κατὰ τὴν τέχνην. φησὶ γάρ,*

> *ὃς καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τεκτήνατο νῆας ἐΐσας,*
> *ἀρχεκάκους,*

*οὐκ ἐγκωμιάζων αὐτὸν ἐπὶ*[3] *τῇ ποιήσει τῶν νεῶν, ἀλλὰ ψέγων πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ λέγων αὐτὸν ποιῆσαι τὰς ναῦς ἢ βραδείας ἢ ἄλλο τι ἁμάρτημα ἐχούσας ᾐτιᾶτο περὶ τὴν ναυπηγίαν. ψέγει δὲ ὁμοίως καὶ κυνηγέτην τινὰ καὶ καταγελᾷ τῆς ἐμπειρίας, ὅτι εἰς οὐδὲν δέον ἐκέκτητο αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν θηρία ἠπίστατο βάλλειν, ἐν δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ οὐκ ἐτύγχανεν οὐδενός, ἀλλ' ἀχρεῖος ἦν διὰ τὴν δειλίαν,*

[1] *ὡς* added by Crosby.
[2] *ἔπλευσεν* Reiske, *ἐπέπλευσεν* Gasda : *εἰσέπλευσεν*.
[3] *ἐπὶ* Arnim : *ἐν*.

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[1] Pasiphaë, wife of Minos, had been cursed by Poseidon with unnatural lust for the bull which he had sent Minos. Daedalus helped her to satisfy that lust ; cf. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 3. 1. 4.

rightly; for it was not advantageous nor was it just or honourable to lend such aid or to invent devices for ends which were shameful and impious.[1] And even when he equipped Icarus with wings—if we are to believe the tale—I say he did not do well to invent this device; for he was attempting the impossible when he attached wings to a human being. Accordingly he wrought the death of his son.

But apparently Homer too says harsh things of a certain builder among the Trojans, as not having done well when he built for Alexander the ships with which he sailed to Hellas—though he has no fault to find with him on the score of craftsmanship. For this is what he says:

> Who built for Paris well-proportioned ships,
> Sources of ill,[2]

not lauding him for his construction of the ships, but rather censuring him much more severely than if, by saying that he had made the ships either slow or with some other defect, he had censured him for his ship-building. And Homer in similar fashion censures also a certain huntsman[3] and ridicules his skill, because he had acquired it to no good purpose, but, on the contrary, while the man knew how to shoot wild beasts, in warfare he could not hit any one but was useless because of his cowardice, and

[2] *Iliad* 5. 62-63, speaking of Phereclus. The context (59-64) does testify to his skill, for the poet troubles to give his lineage—"son of Carpenter, son of Joiner," and it is said that "Athena loved him exceedingly"; he is excused on the ground that he did not know the will of the gods.

[3] Scamandrius; cf. *Iliad* 5. 49-58. Artemis had taught him the art of hunting. As to his cowardice, Homer only says that he fled before Menelaüs, as did many another.

καὶ οὔ φησιν αὐτῷ τότε βοηθῆσαι τὴν Ἄρτεμιν.

8 Οὐκοῦν ἐκ τούτων δῆλον ὅτι δεῖ φρονήσεως καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ πρὸς ἃ ἐπίστανται οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ πρὸς ἃ οὐκ ἐπίστανται· καὶ οὕτως ἂν ἅπαντα διαφέροι πάντων ὁ σώφρων, οἷον χρὴ εἶναι τὸν φιλόσοφον, καὶ ποιῶν τι τούτων καὶ μὴ ποιῶν, κἂν ὁπωσοῦν ποιῇ κατὰ τὴν τέχνην. ὡς δὲ τῶν ζωγράφων γράψει κρεῖττον οὐκ ὢν ζωγράφος, ἢ τῶν ἰατρῶν ἄμεινον θεραπεύσει κατὰ τὴν ἰατρικὴν[1] οὐκ ὢν ἰατρός, ἢ τῶν μουσικῶν μουσικώτερον ᾄσεται οὐκ ὢν ἔμπειρος μουσικῆς ἢ μετρίως ἔμπειρος γεγονώς, ἢ τῶν ἀριθμητικῶν περὶ τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς ἢ τῶν γεωμετρῶν ἐμπειρότερος φανεῖται περὶ γεωμετρίαν ἢ περὶ φυτείαν τῶν γεωργῶν ἢ περὶ κυβερνητικὴν τῶν κυβερνητῶν, ἢ σφάξει[2] θᾶττον τῶν μαγείρων ἢ διελεῖ[3] δέον διελεῖν τῶν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἔργον πεποιημένων, οὐ χρὴ διανοεῖσθαι.

9 Καίτοι τῶν νῦν βασιλέων τις ἐπεθύμει σοφὸς εἶναι τὴν τοιαύτην σοφίαν, ὡς πλεῖστα ἐπιστάμενος· οὐ μέντοι τὰ τοιαῦτα ἃ μὴ θαυμάζεται παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ ἐφ' οἷς στεφανωθῆναι ἔστι, κηρύττειν καὶ ᾄδειν πρὸς κιθάραν καὶ τραγῳδεῖν καὶ παλαίειν καὶ παγκρατιάζειν. φασὶ δὲ καὶ

[1] κατὰ τὴν ἰατρικὴν deleted by Arnim.
[2] σφάξει Dindorf: σφάξειν or σφάζειν or σφάζιν.
[3] διελεῖ Dindorf: διελεῖν.

he adds that on the occasion in question Artemis did not aid him.

From these illustrations, therefore, it is evident that there is need of wisdom and virtue as applied both to what men know and also to what they do not know; and thus it is that the prudent man, such as the philosopher should be, would in everything be superior to all the world, whether in doing any of these things or in not doing, no matter how he performs according to the standards of the craft. But that he will paint better than the painter when not himself a painter; or that he will tend the sick better than the physician, as measured by the standards of the art, when not himself a physician; or that he will sing more musically than the musicians when unacquainted with the art of music or only slightly acquainted; or that he will show himself better versed than the arithmeticians in the theory of numbers, or than the surveyors in surveying, or than the farmers in planting, or than the pilots in piloting; or that he will slaughter an animal more expeditiously than the butchers, or, should it be necessary to cut it up, do so more expeditiously than those who have made this very thing their profession—such things are not to be expected.

And yet a certain king of our times had the ambition to be wise in this sort of wisdom,[1] believing that he had knowledge of very many things—not, however, of such things as do not receive applause among men, but rather those for which it is possible to win a crown—I mean acting as a herald, singing to the cithara, reciting tragedies, wrestling, and taking part in the pancration. Besides, they say that he could

[1] Nero.

γράφειν καὶ πλάττειν ἱκανὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ αὐλεῖν τῷ τε στόματι καὶ ταῖς μασχάλαις ἀσκὸν ὑποβάλλοντα, ὅπως διαπεφευγὼς ᾖ τὸ αἰσχρὸν τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. οὔκουν ὑπῆρχε σοφός;

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[1] Evidently a sort of bagpipe; cf. Guhl and Koner, *Life of the Greeks and Romans*, fig. 242.

[2] Aphroditê joked Athena because her piping made her

paint and fashion statues and play the pipe, both by means of his lips and by tucking a skin beneath his armpits[1] with a view to avoiding the reproach of Athena![2] Was he not, then, a wise man?

puff out her cheeks and thus spoiled her beauty, whereupon Athena in disgust cast the pipes on the ground. The bagpipe enabled Nero to avoid such facial distortion.

# THE SEVENTY-SECOND DISCOURSE: ON PERSONAL APPEARANCE

In this Discourse Dio is defending what he considers to be the typical appearance of philosophers—the himation, or cloak, unaccompanied by the tunic generally worn next to the body, and long hair and beard. We learn that those who presented such an appearance were commonly subjected to insult and mockery and even to physical violence. And yet, as he tells us, philosophers—or pseudo-philosophers—were a more familiar spectacle with his hearers than shoemakers or fullers or jesters or the followers of any other calling. It is argued that the philosopher can find a precedent for his appearance in the statues of both gods and generals and kings, none of which excites amusement or resentment on the part of the beholder. Furthermore, the city in which he is speaking tolerates the sight of many outlandish costumes. This leads to the conjecture that the reason why the philosopher is singled out for insult is that men are inclined to view him with distrust, feeling that he is critical of them, and being actuated, as one might say, by an inferiority complex. Sometimes also the philosopher is subjected to annoyance by those who expect to hear from him words of wisdom. Reference to this type of annoyance leads naturally to the telling of the fable of the owl and the birds, a fable more briefly sketched in Or. 12. 7 but preserved nowhere else. The moral of the fable is that it is risky to trust to appearances, for, though the owl of the fable was truly wise, the owl of Dio's day resembled her only in "feathers, eyes, and beak," and actually served as decoy for other fowl.

In what city was this Discourse delivered? Arnim argues

with much plausibility that it must have been Rome; for in §§ 3-4 we are told that foreigners in most outlandish dress, who came from remote parts of the empire, were a common spectacle about the streets; furthermore, we are told in § 5 that the local type of cult statue differed from that found in Egypt and Phoenicia but was identical with the Greek type; and, lastly, § 6 shows clearly that the city in question was not Greek. No other city seems to suit these clues so well as Rome. It is suggested that Dio is speaking there on his first visit following his return from exile.

## 72. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΧΗΜΑΤΟΣ

1 Διὰ τί ποτε οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ὅταν μέν τινα ἴδωσιν αὐτὸ μόνον χιτῶνα ἔχοντα, οὔτε προσέχουσιν οὔτε διαγελῶσι; λογιζόμενοι τυχὸν ὅτι[1] ναύτης ἐστὶν ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν δεῖ καταγελᾶν τούτου ἕνεκα. ὁμοίως οὐδ' εἴ τινα ἴδοιεν γεωργοῦ στολὴν ἔχοντα ἢ ποιμένος, ἐξωμίδα ἔχοντα ἢ διφθέραν ἐνημμένον ἢ κοσύμβην ὑποδεδυκότα[2] οὐ χαλεπαίνουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ προσποιοῦνται τὴν ἀρχήν, ἡγούμενοι προσήκειν τὴν στολὴν τῷ τοιοῦτόν τι
2 πράττοντι. τούς γε μὴν καπήλους ἑκάστοτε ὁρῶντες πρὸ τῶν καπηλείων ἀνεζωσμένους οὐδέποτε τωθάζουσι, καταγελῷεν δ' ἂν τοὐναντίον εἰ μὴ οὕτως ἐνεσκευασμένοι εἶεν, ὡς οἰκείου τοῦ σχήματος ὑπάρχοντος τῇ ἐργασίᾳ ἣν μεταχειρίζονται. ἐπειδὰν δέ τινα ἴδωσιν ἀχίτωνα ἐν ἱματίῳ κομῶντα τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὰ γένεια, οὐχ οἷοί τέ εἰσι πρὸς τούτους τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν οὐδὲ σιγῇ παρέρχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐφίστανται καὶ ἐρεθίζουσι καὶ ἤτοι κατεγέλασαν ἢ ἐλοιδόρησαν ἢ[3] ἐνίοτε ἕλκουσιν

[1] ὅτι added by Arnim.
[2] ὑποδεδυκότα] ἀποδεδυκότα M, ἐπενδεδυκότα Naber.
[3] ἢ] καὶ Arnim.

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[1] A variety of tunic which left the right shoulder bare and therefore was appropriate for most labourers.

[2] This word occurs nowhere else except in the lexica. The

# THE SEVENTY-SECOND DISCOURSE: ON PERSONAL APPEARANCE

Why on earth is it that, whenever men see somebody wearing a tunic and nothing more, they neither notice him nor make sport of him? Possibly because they reason that the fellow is a sailor and that there is no occasion to mock him on this account. Similarly, if they should spy some one wearing the garb of a farmer or of a shepherd—that is, wearing an exomis [1] or wrapped in a hide or muffled in a kosymba [2]—they are not irritated, nay, they do not even notice it to begin with, feeling that the garb is appropriate to the man who follows such a calling. Take our tavern-keepers too; though people day after day see them in front of their taverns with their tunics belted high, they never jeer at them but, on the contrary, they would make fun of them if they were not so attired, considering that their appearance is peculiarly suited to their occupation. But when they see some one in a cloak but no tunic,[3] with flowing hair and beard, they find it impossible to keep quiet in his presence or to pass by in silence; instead, they step up to him and try to irritate him and either mock at him or speak insultingly, or sometimes they catch hold

context and the meaning attached to a few related words suggest a sort of poncho with a tasselled border.

[3] Socrates is reported to have followed this custom.

ἐπιλαβόμενοι, ὅταν τινὰ ὁρῶσι μὴ πάνυ ἐρρωμένον αὐτὸν μηδὲ ἄλλον μηδένα παρόντα τὸν ἐπιβοηθήσοντα, καὶ ταῦτα εἰδότες ὅτι τοῖς καλουμένοις φιλοσόφοις ξυνήθης ἐστὶν ἡ στολὴ αὕτη καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἀποδεδειγμένη.

3 Ὃ δὲ ἔτι τούτου παραδοξότερον· ἔνθα γὰρ ἐνίοτε βλέπουσιν ἀνθρώπους, τοὺς μέν τινας πίλους ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἔχοντας, ὡς νῦν τῶν Θρᾳκῶν τινες τῶν Γετῶν λεγομένων, πρότερον δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Μακεδόνες, ἄλλους δὲ τιάραν καὶ ἀναξυρίδας, καθάπερ, οἶμαι, Πέρσαι τε καὶ Βάκτριοι καὶ Παρθυαῖοι καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων· οἱ δὲ ἔτι τούτων ἀτοπώτεροι εἰώθασιν ἐπιδημεῖν πτερὰ ἔχοντες ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ὀρθά, ὥσπερ Νασάμωνες· οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ τούτοις πάνυ τι τολμῶσι πράγματα παρέχειν οὐδ' ἐνοχλεῖν προσιόντες. καίτοι Γέτας μὲν ἢ Πέρσας ἢ Νασάμωνας, τοὺς μὲν οὐ πολλοὺς βλέπουσι, τοὺς δὲ σπανίως ἐπι-
4 δημοῦντας, τῶν δὲ τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων ὀλίγου νῦν μεστὰ πάντα, καὶ σχεδὸν πλείους γεγόνασι τῶν σκυτοτόμων καὶ κναφέων καὶ τῶν γελωτοποιῶν[1] ἢ ἄλλην ὁποίαν βούλει τέχνην ἐργαζομένων· ὥστε καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἴσως ῥηθῆναι εἰκότως ὅτι πλεῖ πάντα ὁμοίως ἀκάτια καὶ πᾶσα βοῦς ἀροτριᾷ.

[1] γελωτοποιῶν] γελγοπωλῶν Naber.

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[1] Presumably Rome; cf. Introduction.

[2] A tribe in southern Russia which seems to have piqued the curiosity of Dio. He wrote a special treatise on them, but it is no longer extant.

[3] A people occupying part of the Libyan coast between the modern towns of Tripoli and Bengazi. Herodotus speaks of them in his account of Egypt (2. 32).

of him and try to drag him off, provided they see one who is not himself very strong and note that no one else is at hand to help him; and they do this although they know that the garb he wears is customary with the philosophers, as they are called, yes, as one might say, has been prescribed for them.

But what is even more astounding still is this. Here in your city [1] from time to time are to be seen persons, some of whom are wearing felt caps on their heads—as to-day certain of the Thracians who are called Getae [2] do, and as Spartans and Macedonians used to do in days gone by—and others wearing a turban and trousers, as I understand Persians and Bactrians and Parthians and many other barbarians do; and some, still more outlandish than these, are accustomed to visit your city wearing feathers erect on their heads, just as do the Nasamonians [3]; yet the citizens do not have the effrontery to make any trouble at all even for these, or to approach and annoy them. And yet as for Getae or Persians or Nasamonians, while some of them are seen here in no great numbers and others rarely visit here, the whole world to-day is virtually crowded with persons such as I have described,[4] yes, I might almost say that they have grown more numerous than the shoemakers and fullers and jesters or the workers at any other occupation whatever. Therefore in our day too possibly it could be said with good reason that every catboat is under sail and every cow is dragging a plow.[5]

[4] The philosophers with their long hair and beard and no tunic.

[5] A manifest proverb whose present aim is to ridicule the prevalence of the so-called philosophers of § 2.

5 Οὐ τοίνυν κατὰ τοῦτο μόνον ξυνήθης αὐτοῖς ἡ
ὄψις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα ὁρῶσιν ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς,
οἷον Διὸς καὶ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν
θεῶν ἀγάλματα, ἐν τοιαύτῃ διαθέσει τοῦ σχήματος.
παρὰ μὲν γὰρ Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ Φοίνιξι καὶ ἑτέροις
τισὶ τῶν βαρβάρων οὐχ ὁ αὐτὸς τύπος τῶν ἀγαλ-
μάτων, ὥσπερ, οἶμαι, παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἀλλὰ
πολὺ διαφέρων, ἐνθάδε δὲ ὁ αὐτός ἐστιν. καὶ ἀν-
δρῶν εἰκόνας ὁρῶσι πολιτῶν τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐν
τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, στρατηγῶν καὶ βασι-
λέων, οὕτως ἀνακειμένας,[1] γένεια καθεικότων. ἀλλὰ
6 τί δεῖ ταῦτα λέγειν; σχεδὸν γάρ τι καὶ τῶν
Ἑλλήνων οἱ πλείους ὁμοίως πρὸς τοῦτο ἔχουσι,
καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἡ ξυνήθεια ἀποκωλύει τὸ μὴ
οὐκ ἐρεσχηλεῖν μηδὲ ὑβρίζειν ἐπειδάν τινα ἴδωσι
τοιοῦτον, λέγω δὲ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ ἀδόξων, οὓς
μὴ δεδοίκασιν ὡς ἱκανοὺς ἀμύνεσθαι· ἐπεὶ τούς
γε τοιούτους σχεδὸν δυσωποῦνται καὶ θαυμάζουσιν.
Τυχὸν οὖν τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τὸ γιγνόμενον. τοὺς
μὲν ναύτας καὶ τοὺς γεωργοὺς καὶ ποιμένας, ἔτι
δὲ Πέρσας καὶ Νασάμωνας, οὐκ οἴονται καταφρο-
νεῖν αὑτῶν οὐδὲ εἶναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς οὐδένα ἐκείνοις
7 λόγον, ὅθεν οὐδὲν φροντίζουσιν. τοὺς μέντοι
φιλοσόφους ὑπονοοῦσιν, ὡς καταφρονοῦντας αὑτῶν[2]
καὶ καταγιγνώσκοντας πολλὴν ἀμαθίαν καὶ δυσ-
τυχίαν, καὶ ὅτι φανερῶς μὲν οὐ καταγελῶσιν,
ἰδίᾳ δὲ παρ' αὑτοῖς οὕτως ἔχουσιν, ὡς πάντας

[1] ἀνακειμένας Reiske : ἀνακείμενα.
[2] αὑτῶν Crosby : αὐτῶν.

[1] Greek statues of male deities, when clad at all, wore only a cloak (*himation*), usually loosely draped; female deities were rarely represented in the nude, their statues

Moreover, it is not for the above reason alone that this spectacle is familiar to them, nay, they also have before their eyes the statues in the temples—as, for example, statues of Zeus and Poseidon and many other gods—arrayed in this type of costume.[1] For while among Egyptians and Phoenicians and certain other barbarians you do not find the same type of statues as you do, I believe, among the Greeks, but far different, here you find the same. Likenesses of men too, citizens of your city, they have before their eyes both in the market-place and in the temples, likenesses of generals and kings set up in this guise with flowing beards. But why need I tell all this? For I might almost say that most of the Greeks also feel as you do about this matter, and their familiarity with the sight does not keep them from teasing or even insulting whenever they spy a man of that appearance—I mean, whenever they see one of the common sort of no repute, whom they do not fear as being able to retaliate; for of course those who have that ability they virtually look upon with veneration and awe!

Well, possibly what goes on is like this: the sailors and the farmers and shepherds, yes, and the Persians and Nasamonians too, the people believe do not look down on them or have any concern with them, and so they do not give them a thought. The philosophers, however, they view with misgivings, suspecting that they scorn them and attribute to them vast ignorance and misfortune; and they suspect that, though the philosophers do not laugh at them in public, privately among themselves they view them in that light,

commonly wearing the tunic, over which in many instances was draped the himation.

ἀθλίους ὄντας τοὺς ἀπαιδεύτους, ἀρξαμένους ἀπὸ τῶν πλουσίων δὴ καὶ μακαρίων δοκούντων, οὓς αὐτοὶ ζηλοῦσι καὶ σμικρὸν διαφέρειν οἴονται τῶν θεῶν εὐδαιμονίας ἕνεκεν· καὶ ὅτι ἀτιμάζουσι καὶ διαγελῶσιν[1] ὡς[2] πολυτελῶς ἐσθίοντάς τε καὶ πίνοντας καὶ καθεύδειν μαλακῶς βουλομένους καὶ μετὰ γυναικῶν ἑκάστοτε ὡραίων καὶ παίδων ἀναπαύεσθαι καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα ἔχειν καὶ θαυμάζεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ ὄχλου καὶ περιβλέπεσθαι· ὧν οὐδὲν ἡγοῦνται μεῖζον οὐδὲ κάλλιον.

8 Διὰ δὴ ταύτην τὴν ὑποψίαν δυσχεραίνουσι τοὺς μὴ ταὐτὰ σφίσι θαυμάζοντας μηδὲ τιμῶντας μηδὲ τὴν αὐτὴν περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἔχοντας διάνοιαν. οὐκοῦν προκαταλαμβάνουσιν αὐτοὶ λοιδοροῦντες καὶ τωθάζοντες ὡς ἀθλίους καὶ ἀνοήτους, εἰδότες ὅτι, εἰ μὲν τούτους ἀποφανοῦσιν ἄφρονας καὶ μαινομένους, ἅμα καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀποδείξουσι σωφρονοῦντας καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντας· εἰ δὲ παραχωρήσουσιν, ὡς τούτων ἃ χρὴ γιγνωσκόντων καὶ πολλοῦ ἀξίων, ἅμα καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁμολογήσουσι δυστυχεῖς καὶ ἀναισθήτους καὶ οὐδὲν εἰδότας ἁπλῶς ὧν προσήκει ἀνθρώπους ἐλευθέρους εἰδέναι.

9 Ἔτι δὲ ἐὰν μέν τινα ἴδωσιν ὡς ναύτην ἐσταλμένον, ἴσασι τοῦτον πλευσούμενον, κἂν ὡς γεωργὸν ἕτερον, γεωργήσοντα· τόν γε μὴν ποιμένος ἔχοντα στολὴν ἴσασι καὶ τοῦτον ὅτι ἄπεισιν ἐπὶ τὰ πρό-

[1] ἀτιμάζουσι καὶ διαγελῶσιν Reiske: ἀτιμάζοιεν καὶ διαγελῷεν.
[2] ὡς] τοὺς Arnim, ὁρῶντες Reiske.

holding that the unenlightened are all pitiable creatures, beginning, in fact, with those who are reputed to be rich and prosperous, persons whom these mockers themselves envy and believe to be little different from the gods in felicity ; furthermore, they suspect that these philosophers disparage and ridicule them as being extravagant in eating and drinking, as wanting a soft bed to sleep on and the company of young women and boys whenever they repose, and plenty of money, and to be admired and looked up to by the mob, things which they believe to be more important and better than anything else.

Because of this suspicion they of course dislike those who do not admire or prize the same things as they do and do not hold the same opinion about the things of chief importance. Therefore they seize for themselves the initiative in reviling and jeering at the philosophers as being luckless and foolish, knowing that if they succeed in showing that the philosophers are senseless and daft they will at the same time also prove themselves to be prudent and sensible ; whereas if they give way to them, recognizing that the philosophers know what they should and are highly estimable, at the same time they will be admitting that they themselves are luckless and thick-witted and know absolutely none of the things free men should.

Again, if they see a man rigged out as a sailor, they know that he is about to put to sea, and if they see some one else rigged out as a farmer, they know that he is about to engage in farming, and of course they know also that he who is clad in shepherd's garb is on his way to his sheep and will spend his

βατα καὶ περὶ ἐκεῖνα διατρίψει,[1] ὥστε ὑπ᾽ οὐδενὸς
λυπούμενοι τούτων ἐῶσιν αὐτούς· ὅταν δέ τινα
ἴδωσι τὸ σχῆμα ἔχοντα τὸ τοῦ φιλοσόφου, λογί-
ζονται ὅτι οὗτος οὔτε πρὸς τὸ πλεῖν[2] οὔτε πρὸς
γεωργίαν οὔτε προβάτων ἕνεκεν οὕτως ἔσταλται,
ἀλλ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀνθρώπους παρεσκεύασται, ὡς νουθετή-
σων τε καὶ ἐξελέγξων καὶ οὐδέν τι θωπεύσων
οὐδένα αὐτῶν οὐδὲ φεισόμενος οὐδενός, τοὐναντίον
δὲ κολάσων ὡς ἂν δύνηται αὐτοὺς μάλιστα τῷ
10 λόγῳ καὶ ἐπιδείξων οἷοί εἰσιν. οὔκουν δύνανται
ἡδέως ὁρᾶν αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ προσκρούουσι καὶ δια-
μάχονται, ὥσπερ οὐδ᾽ οἱ παῖδες ἡδέως ὁρᾶν
δύνανται οὓς ἂν ἴδωσι παιδαγωγῶν σχῆμα ἔχοντας
καὶ παρεσκευασμένους οὕτως ὡς ἐπιπλήξοντας
αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέψοντας ἁμαρτάνειν οὐδὲ
ῥᾳθυμεῖν. εἰ γάρ τοι καὶ τοῖς παισὶν ἐξῆν τῶν
τοιούτων καταγελᾶν καὶ ὑβρίζειν, οὐδὲν ἂν πρό-
τερον τούτου ἐποίουν.

Οὐ μέντοι ἅπαντες ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς διανοίας
προσέρχονται καὶ ἐνοχλοῦσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἔστι γένος
ἀνθρώπων πολυπραγμονοῦν τοιαύτην πολυπραγμο-
11 σύνην καὶ τρόπον τινὰ οὐ πονηρόν· οὗτοι προσ-
ίασιν[3] οὓς ἂν ἡγῶνται φιλοσόφους ἀπὸ τῆς
στολῆς, ὡς ἀκουσόμενοί τι παρ᾽ αὐτῶν σοφὸν
ὃ οὐκ ἂν παρ᾽ ἑτέρου ἀκούσειαν, πυνθανόμενοι
καὶ περὶ Σωκράτους ὅτι σοφός τε ἦν καὶ διελέγετο[4]
τοῖς προσιοῦσι λόγους φρονίμους, καὶ περὶ Διο-
γένους, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς ἅπαντα εὐπόρει λόγου
καὶ ἀποκρίσεως. καὶ τὰ μὲν τούτου καὶ διαμνη-

[1] διατρίψει Reiske: διατρίψοι.
[2] After πλεῖν Arnim deletes ἐστιν.
[3] After προσίασιν Herwerden adds πρός.

time attending to them, and so, since they are not irritated by any of these, they let them alone; but when they see a man in the garb of the philosopher, they reason in his case that it is not for sailing or for farming or for tending sheep that he is thus arrayed, but rather that he has got himself ready to deal with human beings, aiming to admonish them and put them to the test and not to flatter or to spare any one of them, but, on the contrary, aiming to reprove them to the best of his ability by his words and to show what sort of persons they are. They cannot, therefore, look upon the philosophers with any pleasure, but instead they clash with them and fight with them, just as boys too cannot look with pleasure upon any whom they see in the guise of tutors and prepared as if they meant to rebuke them and not to allow them to go astray or be careless. In truth, if the boys were at liberty to mock at and insult such persons, there is nothing they would rather do than that.

However, not all have this motive in coming up and making themselves a nuisance; on the contrary, there are persons who indulge in this kind of curiosity and, in a way, are not bad persons either. These approach any whom, because of their dress, they take to be philosophers, expecting to hear from them some bit of wisdom which they could not hear from any one else, because they have heard regarding Socrates that he was not only wise but also accustomed to speak words of wisdom to those who approached him, and also regarding Diogenes, that he too was well provided with statement and answer on each and every topic. And the masses still

[4] *διελέγετο* Arnim: *διαλέγοιτο*.

μονεύουσιν οἱ πολλοί, τὰ μέν τινα ἴσως εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλων συνθέντων.

12 Τῶν γε μὴν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν τὰς γνώμας ἀκούουσι καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀνατεθῆναι πρότερον, οἷον ἀπαρχάς τινας τῆς σοφίας τῆς ἐκείνων καὶ ἅμα τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἕνεκεν ὠφελείας, ὡς τῷ ὄντι δὴ θεῖα ταῦτα καὶ σχεδόν τι τῶν χρησμῶν θειότερα οὓς ἡ Πυθία ἔχρα καθίζουσα ἐπὶ τοῦ τρίποδος, ἐμπιμπλαμένη τοῦ πνεύματος. τὸ γὰρ αὐτῷ χρησθὲν ἕκαστος ἀκούσας ἄπεισι, καὶ οὐκ ἀνατίθεται ταῦτα, ὥστε δὴ καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις εἶναι γνώριμα· τὰ δὲ ἐκείνων δόγματα κοινὰ ἀπεδείχθη τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις παρὰ τὸν θεόν, ὡς ὁμοίως ξυμφέρον πᾶσιν εἰδέναι καὶ πείθεσθαι.

13 Εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ καὶ τὸν Αἴσωπον οἴονται τοιοῦτόν τινα γενέσθαι, σοφὸν μὲν καὶ φρόνιμον, αἱμύλον δὲ ἄλλως καὶ ξυνθεῖναι λόγους ἱκανὸν οἵων αὐτοὶ ἥδιστ' ἂν ἀκούοιεν. καὶ τυχὸν οὐ[1] παντάπασι ψευδῆ οἴονται καὶ[2] τῷ ὄντι Αἴσωπος τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐπειρᾶτο νουθετεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἐπιδεικνύναι αὐτοῖς ἅττα ἁμαρτάνουσιν, ὡς ἂν μάλιστα ἠνείχοντο αὐτόν, ἡδόμενοι ἐπὶ τῷ γελοίῳ καὶ τοῖς μύθοις· ὥσπερ τὰ παιδία ταῖς τίτθαις μυθολογουμέναις προσέχουσί τε καὶ ἥδονται. ἀπὸ δὴ τῆς τοιαύτης δόξης, ὡς καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν ἀκουσό-

[1] οὐ added by Selden. [2] καὶ Arnim: εἰ or ἦ or ἡ.

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[1] Cf. Plato, *Protagoras* 342 E—343 B, which Dio seems to have in mind, and Pausanias 10. 24. 1. The only sayings expressly stated to have been inscribed at Delphi are the most famous of all—KNOW THYSELF and NOTHING IN EXCESS.

[2] Aesop was frequently associated with the Seven Sages. The homely wisdom of his beast fables appealed strongly to the Greeks. Aristophanes drew upon them from time to

remember the sayings of Diogenes, some of which he may have spoken himself, though some too were composed by others.

Indeed, as for the maxims of the Seven Sages, they hear that these were even inscribed as dedications at Delphi in days gone by, firstfruits, as it were, of the wisdom of those men and at the same time intended for the edification of mankind, the idea being that these maxims were truly divine, and if I may say so, even more divine than the responses which the Pythian priestess was wont to give as she sat upon her tripod and filled herself with the breath of the god. For the response which is made to each for himself he listens to and then goes his way, and such responses are not dedicated and thereby made known to all mankind too; but the maxims of the Seven Sages have been appointed for the common use of all who visit the god, as being profitable for all alike to know and to obey.[1]

And there are those who think that Aesop too was somewhat like the Seven Sages, that while he was wise and sensible, yet he was crafty too and clever at composing tales such as they themselves would most enjoy to hear.[2] And possibly they are not wholly mistaken in their suppositions and in reality Aesop did in this way try to admonish mankind and show them wherein they were in error, believing that they would be most tolerant toward him if they were amused by his humour and his tales—just as children, when their nurses tell them stories, not only pay attention to them but are amused as well. As the result, then, of this belief,

time. The earliest known example of this type of fable is Hesiod's Hawk and Nightingale, *Works and Days* 202-212.

μενοί τι τοιοῦτον οἷον Αἴσωπος ἔλεγεν ἢ ὁποῖον Σωκράτης ἢ ὁποῖα Διογένης, προσίασι καὶ ἐνοχλοῦσι καὶ οὐ δύνανται ἀπέχεσθαι ὃν ἂν ἴδωσιν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ σχήματι, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ ὄρνεα ἐπειδὰν ἴδωσι γλαῦκα.

14 Ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ξυνετίθει λόγον Αἴσωπος τοιοῦτον, ὡς τὰ ὄρνεα ξυνῆλθε πρὸς τὴν γλαῦκα καὶ ἐδεῖτο τῆς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων σκέπης[1] ἀπανίστασθαι, πρὸς δὲ τὰ δένδρα τὴν καλιάν, ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτά, καὶ τοὺς τούτων μεταπήγνυσθαι κλῶνας, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ᾄδειν ἔστιν εὐσημότερον· καὶ δὴ καὶ πρὸς δρῦν ἄρτι τότ' ἤδη[2] φυομένην, ἐπειδὰν πρὸς ὥραν ἀφίκηται, ἑτοίμως ἔχειν ἱζάνειν καὶ τῆς χλοερᾶς κόμης ἀπόνασθαι. ἀλλ' οὖν τήν γε γλαῦκα μὴ τοῦτο τοῖς ὀρνέοις ποιεῖν παραινεῖν μηδὲ φυτοῦ βλάστῃ ἐφήδεσθαι ἰξὸν πεφυκότος

15 φέρειν, πτηνοῖς ὄλεθρον. τὰ δὲ μήτε τῆς ξυμβουλῆς ἀπεδέχετο[3] τὴν γλαῦκα, τοὐναντίον δὲ ἔχαιρε τῇ δρυῒ φυομένῃ, ἐπειδὴ δὲ[4] ἱκανὴ ἦν, καθίσαντα ἐπ' αὐτὴν ᾖδεν. γενομένου δὲ τοῦ ἰξοῦ ῥᾳδίως ἤδη ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἁλισκόμενα μετενόουν καὶ τὴν γλαῦκα ἐθαύμαζον[5] ἐπὶ τῇ ξυμβουλῇ. καὶ νῦν ἔτι οὕτως ἔχουσιν, ὡς δεινῆς καὶ σοφῆς οὔσης αὐτῆς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐθέλουσι πλησιάζειν, ἡγούμενα ἀγαθόν τι ἀπολαύειν τῆς ξυνουσίας· ἔπειτα, οἶμαι, προσίασι μάτην ἐπὶ κακῷ. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαία γλαὺξ τῷ ὄντι φρονίμη

[1] σκέπης Reiske : ὀπῆς.
[2] ἄρτι τότ' ἤδη Post, ταυτηνὶ ἄρτι Reiske : ἄρτι ταυτηνί.

that they are going to hear from us too some such saying as Aesop used to utter, or Socrates, or Diogenes, they draw near and annoy and cannot leave in peace whomever they may see in this costume, any more than the birds can when they see an owl.

Indeed, this is why Aesop composed a fable which I will relate. The birds came together to call upon the owl, and they begged her to withdraw from the shelter afforded by the human habitations and to transfer her nest to the trees, just like themselves, and to their branches, "whence," they declared, "it is actually possible to sing a clearer note." And in fact, as the fable has it, they stood ready to settle upon an oak, which was then just starting to grow, as soon as it should reach its prime, and to enjoy its green foliage. However, the story continues, the owl advised the birds not to do this and not to exult in the shoot of a plant whose nature it is to bear mistletoe, a bane to feathered folk. But the birds not only did not applaud the owl for her advice, but, quite the reverse, they took delight in the oak as it grew, and when it was of proper size they alighted on it and sang. But because the mistletoe had grown on it, they now were easily captured by the men and repented of their conduct and admired the owl for her advice. And even to this day they feel this way about her, believing her to be shrewd and wise, and on this account they wish to get near her, believing that they are deriving some benefit from association with her; but if they do, they will approach her, I fancy, all in vain and to their cost. For though that

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[3] ἀπεδέχετο Reiske: ἀποδέχεσθαι.
[4] ἐπειδὴ δὲ] ἐπειδή τε Emperius.
[5] ἐθαύμαζον editio princeps: ἐθαύμαζεν.

τε ἦν καὶ ξυμβουλεύειν ἐδύνατο, αἱ δὲ νῦν μόνον τὰ πτερὰ ἔχουσιν ἐκείνης καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ τὸ ῥάμφος, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀφρονέστεραί εἰσι
16 τῶν ἄλλων ὀρνέων. οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ ἑαυτὰς δύνανται οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν παρὰ τοῖς ὀρνιθοθήραις ἐτρέφοντο δεδεμέναι καὶ δουλεύουσαι.[1]

Καὶ ἡμῶν ἕκαστος τὴν μὲν στολὴν ἔχει τὴν Σωκράτους καὶ Διογένους, τὸ δὲ φρονεῖν πολλοῦ δέομεν ὅμοιοι εἶναι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐκείνοις ἢ ζῆν ὁμοίως αὐτοῖς ἢ λόγους τοιούτους διαλέγεσθαι. τοιγάρτοι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ βλεπόμενοι ὥσπερ αἱ γλαῦκες ὄχλον πολὺν ξυνάγομεν τῷ ὄντι ὀρνέων, αὐτοί τε ὄντες ἠλίθιοι καὶ ὑφ᾽ ἑτέρων τοιούτων ἐνοχλούμενοι.

[1] δουλεύουσαι] παλεύουσαι Herwerden.

owl of olden days was really wise and able to give advice, those of to-day merely have her feathers, eyes, and beak, but in all else they are more foolish than the other birds. Therefore they cannot benefit even themselves; for otherwise they would not be kept at the bird-catcher's, caged and in servitude.[1]

Just so, though each of us has the garb of Socrates and Diogenes, in intellect we are far from being like those famous men, or from living as they did, or from uttering such noble thoughts. Therefore, for no other reason than because of our personal appearance, we, like the owls, collect a great company of those who in truth are birds, being fools ourselves besides being annoyed by others of like folly.

[1] Dio employs this fable of Aesop's also in Or. 12. 6-8.

# THE SEVENTY-THIRD DISCOURSE: ON TRUST

Although this Discourse begins with no formal address, it presents the appearance of a letter, for in the final paragraph the author applies his remarks to some one individual, whose name, unfortunately, is not given. Certainly, if we were to assume that we had before us an oral communication, we should expect to find now and then some appeal to the listener and an occasional response, however brief and perfunctory.

Dio appears to be writing to some acquaintance, possibly a former pupil, who seems to be considering acceptance of some responsibility, the nature of which it is idle to conjecture. All but the final paragraph is devoted to an exposition of the discomforts and even dangers attendant upon such a decision. As horrible examples of the ingratitude of both state and private citizen Dio passes in review some of the most notable personages of myth and history, besides calling attention to the many nameless persons who were repaid for their services as guardians or trustees by reproach or even by prosecution in the courts. We infer that he would have his anonymous acquaintance remain true to philosophy.

## 73. ΠΕΡΙ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ

1 Ἆρά γε τὸ πιστεύεσθαι τοῖς πιστευομένοις ἀγαθόν ἐστι καὶ τοιοῦτον οἷον τὸ πλουτεῖν καὶ τὸ ὑγιαίνειν καὶ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι τοῖς τιμωμένοις καὶ ὑγιαίνουσι καὶ πλουτοῦσιν, αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις τινὰ φέρον ὠφέλειαν; λέγω δὲ οἷον εἴ τις δημοσίᾳ τύχοι πιστευόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς αὑτοῦ[1] πόλεως ἢ ἑτέρας στρατιὰν[2] ἢ χρήματα ἢ τείχη, καθάπερ ἤδη πολλοὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπετράπησαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτὰς τὰς πόλεις μετὰ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν εἰρήνης τε
2 οὔσης καὶ πολέμου καταλαβόντος ἐνίοτε· καὶ νὴ Δία εἴ τις ὑπ'[3] ἀνδρὸς βασιλέως ἢ τυράννου πιστεύοιτο χρυσίον ἢ ἀργύριον ἢ ναῦς ἢ ὅπλα ἢ ἀκρόπολιν ἢ ξύμπασαν τὴν ἀρχήν, ὥσπερ Λεπτίνης μὲν παρὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ πολλάκις Συρακούσας παρέλαβε, Φίλιστος δὲ παρὰ τοῦ νεωτέρου Διονυσίου, μάγοι δὲ παρὰ Καμβύσου τὰ Περσῶν βασίλεια, ὅτε εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐστρατεύετο, παρὰ δὲ

[1] αὑτοῦ Emperius : αὐτοῦ.
[2] στρατιὰν Emperius : στρατείαν.
[3] ὑπ' Emperius : ἀπ'.

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[1] Dionysius the Elder, who banished Leptines for marrying without his consent, but later recalled him.
[2] Philistus was both soldier-politician and historian.

# THE SEVENTY-THIRD DISCOURSE: ON TRUST

Do you really mean to say that being trusted is a good thing for those who are trusted and comparable to being wealthy or healthy or honoured for those who are honoured or healthy or wealthy, because it brings to those persons themselves some benefit? I mean, for instance, if a person should chance to be trusted in an official capacity, by his own state or by another, with an army or money or fortifications, just as in the past many have had such things entrusted to them, and in some instances even the cities themselves, women and children and all, not only in times of peace, but also sometimes when in the grip of war. And, by Heaven, if a person were to be trusted by a king or a tyrant with gold or silver or ships or arms or a citadel or the supreme command —for example, Leptines often received command of Syracuse from his brother,[1] and Philistus received it from the younger Dionysius,[2] and the Magi received from Cambyses charge of his palace in Persia at the time when he was campaigning against Egypt.[3]

Exiled by Dionysius the Elder along with Leptines, he was recalled sixteen years later on the accession of Dionysius II, but finally fell by his own hand when defeated in the attempt to save his master's power.

[3] One of the most famous tales in Herodotus (3. 61-80). The Magi paid with their lives for their conspiracy.

Δαρείου Μιθράνης τὴν Σάρδεων ἀκρόπολιν, Περσαῖος δὲ παρὰ Ἀντιγόνου τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον, πολὺ δὲ τούτων πρότερον Ἀτρεὺς παρ' Εὐρυσθέως τὸ Ἄργος ὅτε Εὐρυσθεὺς ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐστρατεύετο οὐκ ἐκδιδόντων Ἀθηναίων τοὺς Ἡρακλέους παῖδας· ὁ δὲ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων, ἡνίκα ἐπὶ Τροίαν ἔπλει, μουσικῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐπίστευσε τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ
3 τὴν οἰκίαν—τούτους ἅπαντας φῶμεν τοὺς πιστευομένους ἀγαθόν τι ἀπολαύειν καὶ αὐτοὺς τῆς πίστεως;

Καὶ αὖ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν πιστευομένους ἢ γυναῖκας ἢ παῖδας ἢ τὴν οὐσίαν, καθάπερ, οἶμαι, πολλοὶ ἐπιτρόπους καὶ κηδεμόνας καταλείπουσιν, οἱ μὲν ἀποδημοῦντες, οἱ δὲ ἀποθνῄσκοντες, οἱ δὲ παρακαταθήκας διδόασιν ἄνευ μαρτύρων, οὐ δεδιότες μὴ ἀφαιρεθῶσιν, ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν νόμων ἀπαγορευόντων μὴ καταλιπεῖν κληρονόμους οὓς αὐτοὶ βούλονται, ἑτέρους καταλείπουσιν, ἐντειλάμενοι τὰ χρήματα ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς αὑτῶν[1] ἐπι-
4 τηδείοις—τούτοις δὴ πᾶσι λυσιτελεῖν φῶμεν τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ τὴν δόξαν, ἣν ἔχοντες περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιτρέπουσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ τὰ σφέτερα ἐπιτρέποντες,

[1] αὑτῶν Emperius : αὐτῶν.

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[1] Satrap under Darius III, Mithranes surrendered Sardis to Alexander the Great, who later put him in charge of Armenia ; cf. Diodorus 17. 21. 7 and 17. 64. 6.

[2] A distinguished pupil of Zeno, the Stoic philosopher. Antigonus Gonatas put him in charge of Acrocorinth.

and Mithranes[1] received from Darius the citadel of Sardis, and Persaeus[2] received Acrocorinth from Antigonus, and, much earlier than these, Atreus received Argos from Eurystheus, when Eurystheus was campaigning against Athens for refusing to surrender the children of Heracles,[3] and, furthermore, the son of Atreus, Agamemnon, when setting sail for Troy, entrusted to a musician his wife and his house[4]—shall we say that all those who were trusted themselves derived some good from the trust?

Again, how about those who are entrusted by men in private station with either wives or children or estate? For instance, many, I fancy, leave behind them guardians and protectors, some when going on a journey and others when dying; and some place deposits in trust without the presence of witnesses, having no fear of being defrauded; and some, because the laws forbid their naming as heirs those whom they themselves prefer,[5] name others, instructing them to turn over the property to the friends of the deceased—are we to say that all such derive an advantage from the transaction and from the high opinion about them which leads those who do so to entrust them with their possessions, but

When Aratus snatched it from him he managed to escape with his life.

[3] When Heracles died, his children, fearing Eurystheus, fled to Athens.

[4] Homer relates (*Odyssey* 3. 267-272) that, in order to effect his seduction of Clytaemnestra, Aegisthus removed the nameless bard to a desert island and left him there to become a prey to the birds.

[5] According to Attic law, if a man had sons born in lawful wedlock, he must leave his estate to them; if he had a daughter but no sons, her husband, preferably a relative, was given charge of the inheritance.

μάλιστα δὲ[1] τοῖς τελευταίοις τοῖς παρανόμως πιστεύεσθαι δοκοῦσιν· ἢ τοὐναντίον χαλεπὸν εἶναι τὸ τοιοῦτον καὶ πολλῆς ἀσχολίας καὶ φροντίδων αἴτιον, ἐνίοτέ γε[2] μὴν καὶ κινδύνων τῶν μεγίστων;

Ἔξεστι δὲ σκοπεῖν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῶν δοκούντων εἶναι μεγίστων· οὗτοι γὰρ τῶν μὲν ἰδίων ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀμελοῦσι καὶ χρημάτων καὶ τέκνων, προσέχουσι δὲ τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων εἰσί· καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων ταῖς πόλεσιν ἢ πολεμίων ἢ πολιτῶν τινων ἀπόλλυνται, πολλάκις δὲ ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν τῶν πόλεων ἀδίκως διαβληθέντες. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐσίας ἀφῃρέθησαν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὀνείδη συνέβη κτήσασθαι καταδικασθέντας κλοπῆς· οἱ δὲ ἐξέπεσον ἐκ τῶν πατρίδων, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀπέθανον.

5 Ὥσπερ οὖν λέγουσι Περικλέα μὲν ἁλῶναι κλοπῆς παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις τὸν κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα προστάντα τῆς πόλεως, Θεμιστοκλέα δὲ ἐκπεσεῖν ὡς προδιδόντα, ὃς παραλαβὼν αὐτοὺς οὐ δυναμένους τὸ ἔδαφος τῆς πατρίδος οἰκεῖν, ἀλλὰ παραχωροῦντας τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν, οὐ μόνον ταῦτα πάντα ἀπέδωκεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἔτι καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμόνας ἐποίησεν,

[1] δὲ Pflugk : δή.
[2] γε added by Reiske.

[1] In reporting what presumably was the gossip of the comic poets, Plutarch, *Pericles* 32. 2-3, relates that, wishing to discredit Pericles with the people, Dracontides sponsored a bill providing that Pericles should deposit his accounts of public moneys with the prytanes and defend them in court, and that, because he had previously come into collision with

particularly in the case of those last mentioned, who seem to be trusted in violation of the laws? Or, on the contrary, shall we say that such a responsibility is vexatious and the source of much trouble and many worries, sometimes indeed even of the greatest perils?

But we may examine the question by beginning immediately with those who are thought to be of highest rank; for these of necessity neglect their private interests, both property and children, and devote their attention to the public interests and are absorbed in them; and often at the hands of those who plot against their cities, whether foreign foes or some of their fellow citizens, they meet with disaster, and often, too, at the hands of the cities themselves, because of unjust accusation. For some have been deprived of property, and some even have suffered disgrace of various kinds, having been convicted on a charge of embezzlement, others have been banished from their native land, and others have even been put to death.

For example, they say that Pericles was convicted of embezzlement in an Athenian court,[1] the noblest and best champion the city ever had; and that Themistocles was banished on a charge of treason, the one who, after having taken charge of the Athenians at a time when they were no longer able to occupy the soil of their native land but were yielding to the foe their city itself and their shrines, not only restored all these things, but even made the Athenians leaders of the Greeks, wresting the leader-

the people in the case of Pheidias, Pericles feared to appear before a jury and avoided trial by hastening the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War.

ἀφελόμενος Λακεδαιμονίους ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔχοντας τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην.

6 Μιλτιάδης δὲ ὁ πρῶτος νικήσας τοὺς βαρβάρους μετὰ μόνων τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τὸ Περσῶν φρόνημα καθελών, ὃ πρότερον εἶχον ὡς ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων κρείττους ὄντες, οὗτος μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐνέπεσε, καὶ προσέτι ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Κίμων ἄτιμος ἦν ἂν τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, εἰ μὴ τὴν ἀδελφὴν Ἐλπινίκην ἐξέδωκεν ἀνδρὶ ταπεινῷ[1] χρήματα δ'[2] ἔχοντι, ὃς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τὴν ζημίαν κατέβαλε τὰ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα. καίτοι Κίμων ὕστερον Ἀθηναίοις Κύπρον ἐκτήσατο καὶ πεζῇ ἅμα καὶ ναυσὶν ἐνίκησε τοὺς βαρβάρους περὶ Παμφυλίαν· ἀλλ' ὅμως τὸν τοιοῦτον αὐτὸν ὄντα καὶ τοιούτου πατρός, εἰ μὴ χρημάτων εὐπόρησεν, ἄτιμον ἂν[3] εἴων ἐν τῇ πόλει.

7 Φωκίωνα δὲ ὕστερον τὸν ὑπὲρ ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη βιώσαντα, τούτων δὲ τὰ πλείω στρατηγήσαντα καὶ τὴν πόλιν διαφυλάξαντα ἐν τοῖς χαλεπωτάτοις καιροῖς καὶ χρηστὸν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ὀνομασθέντα, τοῦτον οὐκ ἤρκεσεν αὐτοῖς ἀποκτεῖναι μόνον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ νεκρὸν εἴασαν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ,

[1] καὶ after ταπεινῷ deleted by Emperius.
[2] δ' added by Capps.
[3] ἂν added by Dindorf.

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[1] Aristophanes (*Knights* 813-819) pays high tribute to Themistocles.

[2] At Marathon. One thousand Plataeans are said to have aided Athens.

[3] He incurred the displeasure of Athens for his failure to take Paros. Herodotus (6. 136) speaks only of his being fined, but Diodorus and others add that he was imprisoned.

[4] Callias, a familiar figure in Greek literature, famed alike for his great wealth and for his profligacy.

ship from the Spartans, who had held this honour from the beginning.[1]

Again, Miltiades, who had been the first to vanquish the barbarians, with only his fellow citizens to aid him, and to humble the pride of the Persians,[2] a pride which they formerly held, believing themselves to be superior to all other men—this man, I say, not much later was cast into prison by the Athenians[3]; and, besides, his son Cimon would have been deprived of civic rights for the rest of his life if he had not given his sister Elpinicê in marriage to a man of humble origin but great wealth, who in his behalf paid the fine of fifty talents.[4] And yet later on Cimon gained Cyprus for the Athenians, and in a joint attack by land and sea vanquished the barbarians in the neighbourhood of Pamphylia. Still, though so remarkable himself and the son of so remarkable a father, if he had not secured considerable money the Athenians would have suffered him to be without civic rights in his city.[5]

And take the case of Phocion of a later period, who lived to be more than eighty years of age, and who for most of those years had served as general, had preserved the state in its moments of direst need, and had been dubbed excellent[6] by those very Athenians—this man they were not content merely to put to death, nay, they would not even permit his corpse to rest in Attic soil, but cast it forth beyond

[5] Since Miltiades had died a debtor to the state, the son was deprived of civic rights until his father's debt was paid.

[6] The word χρηστός is frequent in honorific inscriptions. In the case of Phocion it would seem to have been his sobriquet; cf. Plutarch, *Phocion* 10. 2. Phocion was born *c.* 402 B.C. and was executed in 318 on a charge of treason. He had been made general forty-five times.

ἀλλ᾿ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ὅρους ἐξέβαλον. Νικίας δὲ ὁ Νικηράτου διὰ τὸ πιστεύεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν,[1] ἐπιστάμενος τὴν ἐν Σικελίᾳ στρατείαν οἵα ἔσοιτο καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῷ λογίζεσθαι, ὅμως ἠναγκάσθη στρατεύσασθαι νοσῶν διὰ τὴν πίστιν ταύτην. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀποβαλὼν τὴν στρατιὰν ἢ μέρος αὐτῆς αὐτὸς γοῦν ἐσώθη, δῆλον ὅτι οἴκοι ἀφικόμενος ἀπολώλει ἄν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο εἰδὼς προσελιπάρει πάντα τρόπον, ληφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων τοῦτο ἔπαθεν.

8 Καὶ ταῦτα ἐμοὶ περὶ μιᾶς πόλεως εἴρηται καὶ τῶν ἐν μιᾷ πόλει πολιτευομένων, οὐδὲ τούτων ἁπάντων. τοὺς δὲ παρὰ τοῖς τυράννοις δοκοῦντας πιστοὺς εἰ ἐπεξίοιμι οἵων δὴ τετυχήκασι, πολλῶν ἂν ἴσως μοι δεήσαι πάνυ ἡμερῶν. σχεδὸν γὰρ τὸ γεγηθέναι[2] ἐκείνους ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν. οἳ μὲν γὰρ ἂν παράσχωσι καθ᾿ αὑτῶν αἰτίαν, ὡς ἀδικήσαντες, διὰ τοῦτο ἀπόλλυνται καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεμιᾶς συγγνώμης τυχεῖν· οἳ δ᾿ ἂν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ φανῶσι καὶ διαφυλάττειν δυνάμενοι τὰ πιστευθέντα, παραχρῆμα μὲν τιμῆς τινος ἔτυχον, μετ᾿ οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἀπόλλυνται φθονούμενοι καὶ ὑποπτευόμενοι.
9 οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖ λυσιτελεῖν τοῖς μονάρχοις οὐδέν᾿ ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν εἶναι παρ᾿ αὐτοῖς οὐδ᾿ εὐδοκιμοῦντα φαίνεσθαι παρὰ τῷ πλήθει. αἱ δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν πίστεις κινδύνους μὲν ἥττους ἴσως ἔχουσιν,

[1] διὰ τὸ . . . πολιτῶν deleted by Emperius.
[2] γεγηθέναι] γε σωθῆναι Wilamowitz.

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[1] The tragic story is vividly told by Thucydides. The whole of book VII is a tribute to the loyalty and dogged determination of Nicias in the face of disease and crushing misfortune.

their borders. Or take Nicias son of Niceratus—because he was trusted by his fellow citizens, though he knew full well what the campaign in Sicily would be like, both from the warnings of the god and from his own reasoning, still he was compelled to make the expedition, ill as he was, because of this trust of theirs. Moreover, if after losing his army or a portion of it he himself had come back in safety, clearly on reaching home he would have been put to death. But since, knowing this, he persevered in every way, he was taken captive and suffered that fate at the hands of the enemy.[1]

Now these observations of mine have been made about a single city and about the statesmen in a single city, nor have all of these been named. But as to those who at the courts of the tyrants enjoyed a reputation for trustworthiness, were I to recount fully what sort of fate has been theirs I should perhaps need very many days. For one might almost say that it is impossible for such men to go scot free. For any who lay themselves open to a charge of misconduct are put to death on that account, and there is no chance of obtaining any pardon ; while those who show themselves to be good men and competent to safeguard what has been entrusted to them, though at the moment they obtain a certain honour, not much later they meet with disaster, being victims of envy and suspicion. It does not, you see, seem to be advantageous to absolute monarchs that any man in their service should be good, or that any man should patently stand high in the esteem of the masses. On the other hand, trusts bestowed by men in private life, though possibly they involve less risk, because the business

ὅτι καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐλάττω ἐστίν, ἀσχολίαν δὲ μυρίαν καὶ πόνους, καὶ πολλάκις οὐδὲ χάρις οὐδ' ἡτισοῦν συνέπεται. πολλάκις δὲ συμβαίνει παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν εὖ παθόντων αἰτίαν ἔχειν, ὡς οὐ δικαίως οὐδὲ καθαρῶς ἅπαντα ἀποδόντας.[1]

10 Τί δὴ βουλόμενος ταῦτα ἐγὼ διῆλθον; οὐ γὰρ δὴ νουθετῶν σε τοιαύτην νουθεσίαν οὐδὲ ἀποτρέπων τοῦ πιστὸν εἶναι. πολὺ γὰρ ἂν εἴην τοῦ Ζήθου φαυλότερος τοιαῦτα ἐπιτιμῶν, ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἐνουθέτει τὸν ἀδελφὸν οὐκ ἀξιῶν φιλοσοφεῖν αὐτὸν οὐδὲ περὶ μουσικὴν διατρίβειν, ἐάσαντα τὴν τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιμέλειαν· ἔφη δὲ αὐτὸν ἄτοπόν τινα καὶ ἀσύμφορον μοῦσαν εἰσάγειν. ὥσπερ ἂν τυχὸν εἴποι τις καὶ σὲ τοιαύτην προῃρῆσθαι πρᾶξιν, οὐκ ἀργὸν οὐδὲ φίλοινον οὐδαμῶς, χρημάτων μέντοι τῶν αὑτοῦ ἀτημελῆ ἴσως· καὶ νὴ Δία λέγοι ἂν καὶ τόδε τὸ ἔπος·

ἐξ ὧν κενοῖσιν ἐγκατοικήσεις δόμοις.

[1] ἀποδόντας Emperius : ἀποδόντων.

[1] Zethus and Amphion, sons of Antiopê and Zeus, were exposed in infancy and reared by shepherds. Zethus busied himself with hunting and sheep-tending, while Amphion became a very famous musician, by the magic of whose strains the very stones which were to form the walls of Thebes moved into place. The controversy between the two brothers occupies several fragments of the *Antiopê* of

in hand is less important, still entail untold trouble and labours, and often not even gratitude, however slight, is their reward. On the contrary, it often happens that the very men who have received benefits at their hands charge them with not having paid all that is due with justice and clean hands.

Now with what purpose have I rehearsed these matters? Surely not because I was making you the object of such admonition, or because I aimed to dissuade you from being true to a trust. For I should be far worse than Zethus was if I subjected you to such criticism, for he admonished his brother because he did not deem it fitting for him to devote himself to the pursuit of wisdom or to waste time on music to the neglect of his own affairs; and he said that his brother was introducing an absurd and unprofitable Muse. Just as if perchance some one were to say that you too had chosen that sort of occupation, not one of idleness or of drunkenness by any means, and yet one involving neglect of your own estate quite possibly; and, by Zeus, he might even recite this line:

Wherefore an empty house shall be thy home.[1]

Euripides. Dio here paraphrases one fragment and quotes from another; cf. Nauck, *T.G.F.*, Euripides, fragg. 184, 188; fragments of Pacuvius' *Antiopa* (based on Euripides) in *Remains of Old Latin*, L.C.L., vol. II, pp. 158-171.

# THE SEVENTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE: ON DISTRUST

This Discourse, as its title suggests, approaches the question of human relationships from a different angle from that observed in Or. 73. There the speaker was stressing the annoyances and misfortunes resulting from being trusted; here he produces a wealth of examples to show that it is dangerous to trust any one. That note of cynicism is maintained with remarkable consistency to the very end, and there is a ring of conviction about it all which suggests strongly that Dio is speaking out of the bitterness of his own heart. Arnim places the Discourse among those delivered during the period of Dio's exile. Because the element of dialogue is found only at the very opening of the document, he infers that Dio was addressing a group of listeners, one of whom bore to the speaker a closer relationship and therefore was helpful in launching the discussion. The abruptness with which the Discourse opens and closes is held to indicate, as in some other instances, that our text has been separated from its original setting, or possibly that the reporter chose only this much for preservation.

## 74. ΠΕΡΙ ΑΠΙΣΤΙΑΣ

1 Δ. Ἐπίστασαί τινας ἤδη βλαβέντας ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν;

Πῶς γὰρ οὔ;

Δ. Τί δέ; ὑπὸ τῶν καλουμένων φίλων καὶ συνήθων ἢ καὶ ὑπὸ συγγενῶν τινων, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἔγγιστα, ἀδελφῶν ἢ υἱῶν ἢ πατέρων;

Ἔγωγε πολλούς.

Δ. Τίς οὖν ἡ αἰτία, δι' ἣν οὐ μόνον οἱ ἐχθροὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀδικοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ λεγόμενοι φίλοι ἀλλήλους καὶ νὴ Δία πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν οὕτως ἀναγκαίων;

Δῆλον ὡς ἡ κακία τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὑφ' ἧς ἕκαστος, οἶμαι, καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν αὑτῷ βλαβερός.

Δ. Πάντας ἄρα δεῖ[1] ἐπ' ἴσης φυλάττεσθαι καὶ μὴ πιστεύειν μηδὲν μᾶλλον, κἂν[2] φίλος ἢ συνήθης ἢ πρὸς αἵματος εἶναι δοκῇ;

Πάντας, ὡς ὁ λόγος οὗτός φησιν.

Δ. Οὐκοῦν ὀρθῶς ἔγραψεν ὁ τοῦτο γράψας τὸ ἔπος·

νᾶφε καὶ μέμνασ'[3] ἀπιστεῖν· ἄρθρα ταῦτα τᾶν φρενῶν;[1]

2 Ἴσως ὀρθῶς.

[1] After δεῖ Pflugk deletes τοὺς φίλους.
[2] κἂν Casaubon : ἢ ἂν. [3] μέμνασ' Emperius : μέμνησο.

[1] Kaibel, *C.G.F.*, Epicharmus, frag. 250.

# THE SEVENTY-FOURTH DISCOURSE: ON DISTRUST

*Dio.* Are you aware that in the past there have been persons who have been harmed by enemies?

*Interlocutor.* Why, of course.

*Dio.* Well then, have they been harmed by so-called friends and close acquaintances, or even by certain kinsmen, some even by the very closest, brothers or sons or fathers?

*Int.* Yes indeed, many have been.

*Dio.* What is the reason, then, that not only do enemies injure their enemies but also the so-called friends injure one another, and, by Heaven, that many even of those who are so closely related act so?

*Int.* Clearly the reason is found in the depravity of mankind, because of which each, I imagine, is also himself harmful to himself.

*Dio.* Toward all men, then, one should be equally on his guard, and not be one whit more trustful even if a person is held to be a friend or a close acquaintance or a blood-relative?

*Int.* Toward all, as this statement of yours declares.

*Dio.* Then was the author of this verse right when he wrote,

> Keep sober and remember to distrust;
> These are the joints essential to the mind? [1]

*Int.* Probably he was.

Δ. Καὶ μὴν δῆλος[1] ὁ ποιητὴς οὐ πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ταῦτα ὑποτιθέμενος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς νομιζομένους φίλους. οὐ γὰρ δὴ[2] ὑφ' ὧν τις μισούμενος ἐπίσταται, τούτοις ἂν ἐξουσίαν δοίη καθ' αὑτοῦ. πῶς ἂν οὖν διακελεύοιτο ἀπιστεῖν, οἷς μηδὲ[3] πιστεύει;

Φέρε τοίνυν κἀκεῖνο ἴδωμεν. ὑπὸ τίνων πλείους ἀπολώλασι, πότερον ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμολογουμένων ἐχθρῶν ἢ τοὐναντίον ὑπὸ τῶν προσποιουμένων εἶναι φίλων; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ὁρῶ καὶ τῶν πόλεων τῶν ἁλουσῶν πλείονας ὑπὸ τῶν προδοτῶν ἀπολομένας ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων εἰλημμένας κατὰ κράτος, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πλείους τῷ παντὶ τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς συνήθεσιν ἐγκαλοῦντας τῶν αἰτιω-
3 μένων τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς· ἔτι δὲ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους ἅπασι τείχη καὶ φρούρια κατεσκευασμένα, καὶ τούτων ἐνίοτε πολλῶν ἐτῶν μηδεμίαν χρείαν γενομένην· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς συμπολιτευομένους καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν κοινωνοῦντας ἱερῶν καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ γάμων καὶ φυλέτας ὄντας ἀλλήλων καὶ δημότας καὶ συγγενεῖς τὰ δικαστήρια καὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ ἀρχεῖα. καὶ ταῦτα οὐδέποτε ἠρεμεῖ. μεσταὶ γοῦν αἱ πόλεις αἰεὶ κατηγορούντων, ἀπολογουμένων, δικαζόντων, δικαζομένων, καὶ οὐδὲ[4] ἐν ταῖς ἱερομηνίαις ἢ ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἀλλήλων ἀπέχεσθαι δύνανται. τίθενται γοῦν[5] ἑτέρους νόμους ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδικημάτων τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς καὶ τούτους ἱεροὺς καλοῦσιν, ὥσπερ τὸ ὄνομα ὠφελοῦν.

[1] δῆλος Pflugk : οὗτος.
[2] οὐ γὰρ δὴ Wilamowitz, οὐδὲ γὰρ Emperius, οὐ γὰρ Reiske : οὐ δὴ or οὐδέ.
[3] μηδὲ] μηδεὶς Arnim.
[4] οὐδὲ Emperius : οὔτε.
[5] γοῦν Arnim : οὖν.

*Dio.* Furthermore, manifestly the poet is giving this advice, not to his enemies, but rather to those whom he considers friends. For surely those by whom one knows himself to be hated one would not entrust with power against himself. How, then, could the poet be urging those to be distrustful whom he does not himself trust?

Well then, let us consider the following question also. By whom have more persons been ruined—by those who are admittedly enemies, or, on the contrary, by those who profess to be friends? As for myself, I observe that of the cities which have been captured those which have been destroyed by traitors are more numerous than those which have been forcibly seized by the foe, and also that with human beings those who lodge complaints against their friends and close acquaintances are altogether more numerous than those who blame their enemies for their misfortunes; and, furthermore, that whereas against the foe walls and fortresses have been provided for all—though sometimes no use has been made of these for many years—yet against their fellow citizens, against men who have a common share in the same sanctuaries and sacrifices and marriage rites, men who are fellow tribesmen with one another, fellow demesmen and kinsmen, the courts, the laws, and the magistracies have been provided. Furthermore, these institutions are never idle. At any rate the cities are always crowded with plaintiffs and defendants, with juries and litigants, and not even during their solemn festivals or in times of truce can men keep their hands off one another. At least they pass special laws regarding crimes committed during festivals, and they call these "holy laws," as if the

ὁ γὰρ τῆς κακίας πόλεμος[1] διηνεκὴς ἅπασι πρὸς
4 ἅπαντας, ἄσπονδος ὢν καὶ ἀκήρυκτος· μάλιστα δὲ οὗτος συνέστηκε τοῖς ἐγγὺς πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

Τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐν εἰρήνῃ βουλόμενον βιοῦν καὶ μετ' ἀσφαλείας τινὸς εὐλαβεῖσθαι δεῖ τὴν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους κοινωνίαν καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἐπίστασθαι τῶν πολλῶν ἑτοίμην οὖσαν πρὸς τὸ μεταδοῦναι κακίας τινός, καὶ μηδὲ ἂν μυριάκις λέγῃ φίλος εἶναι πιστεύειν. οὐ γάρ ἐστι παρ' αὐτοῖς βέβαιον οὐθὲν οὐδὲ[2] ἀληθές· ἀλλ' ὃν ἂν ἁπάντων προτιμῶσιν ἤδη καὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἐὰν οὕτω τύχῃ, μετὰ μικρὸν ἔχθιστον νομίζουσι καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦ σώματος ἀπέχονται
5 πολλάκις. ὁ γοῦν ἐραστὴς τὸν ἐρώμενον ἀποσφάττει διὰ τὸ λίαν φιλεῖν, ὡς οἴεται, παροξυνθεὶς ἐκ τῆς τυχούσης αἰτίας. ἕτεροι δ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀποκτιννύασιν, οἱ μὲν ἄκοντες δι' ἀκρασίαν, οἱ δὲ ἑκόντες, μηδενὸς ὄντος αὐτοῖς ἀτοπωτέρου[3] κατὰ τὸν βίον ἢ τῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς μοχθηρίας. τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλας βλάβας τὰς εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἑκάστου δῆλον ὡς οὐκ ἐπεξελθεῖν ἔστιν.

Ποία δὴ πίστις πρὸς τοὺς τοιούτους ἢ τίς ἀσφάλεια; ἢ πῶς ἂν ἐμὲ ἀγαπήσειεν ὁ μηδ' αὐτὸν ἀγαπῶν; τὸ γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ῥηθέν, ὅτε ἐν ἐσχάτοις ὄντες ἠξίουν τι περὶ Σάμου, καλῶς ἄν, οἶμαι, λεχθείη πρὸς τοὺς φιλίαν ὑπερχομένους

[1] πόλεμος Reiske: ἔπαινος. [2] οὐδὲ Emperius: οὔτε.

name did any good! Yes, the war against depravity is unremitting for all against all, a war without truce and without herald; but above all this war is joined between those who are close to one another.

Accordingly those who wish to live at peace and with some degree of security must beware of fellowship with human beings, must recognize that the average man is by nature prone to let others have a share in any evil, and that, no matter if one claims a thousand times to be a friend, he is not to be trusted. For with human beings there is no constancy or truthfulness at all; on the contrary, any man whom at the moment they prize above everything, even, it may be, above life itself, after a brief interval they deem their bitterest foe, and often they cannot refrain even from attacking his body. For example, the lover slays his beloved because he loves him too much, as he imagines, but really because he has become enraged over some trivial matter. Others slay themselves, some involuntarily because of incontinence, and some voluntarily, since there is nothing in their life more extraordinary than their innate depravity. But enough of this, for the other injuries which each inflicts upon himself it obviously is impossible to examine in detail.

Then what kind of trust can one have in dealing with men like these, or what assurance? Or how could a person love me who does not love even himself? For the reply which was made to the Athenians on the occasion when, being in dire straits, they made some request concerning Samos, might well, I think, be made to those low persons who try to worm their way into one's friendship: "If one

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[3] ἀτοπωτέρου Crosby: ἀτόπου.

τῶν φαύλων· ὃς αὐτὸς αὑτὸν οὐ φιλεῖ, πῶς ἄλλον φιλεῖ, ἢ ξένον ἢ τέκνον ἢ ἀδελφόν;

6 Τί οὖν, ὅταν τις φιλοφρονῆται καὶ καθ' ἱερῶν ὀμνύῃ καὶ μόνον οὐ κατατέμνειν αὑτὸν ᾖ πρόθυμος; ἀκούειν μὲν ἤδη τούτων ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ νὴ Δία ἴσως κατανεύειν· εἰδέναι μέντοι σαφῶς ὅτι μηδὲν αὐτῶν ἐστιν ἰσχυρόν. Ἠλέκτρα τὸν Ὀρέστην δακρύοντα ὁρῶσα καὶ προσαγόμενον αὑτήν, τότε[1] μὲν ᾤετο ἄνεσίν τινα αὐτῷ γεγονέναι, τοῦ μέντοι παντάπασι πιστεύειν πολὺ ἀπεῖχεν. ὁρῶσα γοῦν μετ' ὀλίγον παρακινοῦντά φησιν,

> οἴμοι, κασίγνητ', ὄμμα σὸν ταράσσεται,
> ταχὺς δὲ μετέθου.

7 Τὴν θάλασσαν οὕτως ἠρεμοῦσαν πολλάκις ἰδεῖν ἔστιν, ὥστ', οἶμαι, καὶ τὸν δειλότατον καταφρονῆσαι. τί οὖν; διὰ τοῦτο πιστεύειν δεῖ καὶ μήτε ἀγκύρας ἔχοντα μήτε πηδάλιον μήτε τἄλλα τὰ πρὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν ἀνάγεσθαί ποτε; ὄψει γάρ, ἂν οὕτω τύχῃ, μετ' ὀλίγον κατερείσαντος ἀνέμου κλύδωνα ἰσχυρὸν καὶ

> κύματά τε[2] τροφόεντα, πελώρια ἶσα ὄρεσσι,
> κυρτὰ φαληριόωντα·

καὶ τὸν νῦν σοι φαινόμενον πρᾷον καὶ πολλὴν ἐνδεικνύμενον εὔνοιαν καὶ σπουδὴν τῆς τυχούσης αἰτίας καταλαβούσης ἄγριον εὑρήσεις καὶ χαλεπὸν καὶ πᾶν ὁτιοῦν κακὸν ἕτοιμον ἐργάσασθαι.

8 Πόσα δοκεῖς τὴν Μήδειαν εὔξασθαι τοῖς θεοῖς

[1] τότε Reiske : ποτὲ. [2] τε with P.

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[1] Euripides, *Orestes* 253-254.

[2] This is a cento, consisting of *Odyssey* 3. 290 and *Iliad* 13. 799. Though familiar with the sea and largely dependent

does not love himself, how can he love another, whether stranger or son or brother?"

What, then, must one do when some one makes a show of friendship, takes a solemn oath at the altar, and is almost eager to butcher himself there? He must listen, of course, immediately, and, by Zeus, possibly nod assent; yet at the same time be quite certain that not one of his protestations is valid. For example, when Electra beheld Orestes weeping and striving to draw her to him, at the moment she supposed that he had experienced some abatement of his madness, and yet she was far from trusting him entirely. At any rate shortly afterward, seeing him sore distraught, she exclaimed,

> Ah me, dear brother, how confused thy glance,
> How swiftly thou hast changed! [1]

Again, one may often behold the sea so calm that, methinks, even the most timid would scorn it. What then? On that account should one have faith in it, and with neither anchors nor rudder nor all the other aids to safety ever put to sea? Nay, if Fortune so decrees, presently a gale will swoop down upon you and you will behold a mighty surge and

> Enormous billows, huge as mountains are,
> Curling and topped with foam [2];

and the man who but now seems to you gentle and who makes much display of kindliness and zeal, when some chance occasion overtakes him you will find is savage and harsh and ready to work any and every mischief.

How many prayers do you suppose Medeia offered

on it for a living, the Greeks felt toward it a wholesome respect, and their writings show little, if any, trace of joy in sailing or in the sea.

ὑπὲρ τῶν τέκνων ἢ ποσάκις ἀγωνιᾶσαι νοσούντων ἢ ποσάκις ἀντ' ἐκείνων αὐτὴν ἂν ἑλέσθαι τελευτᾶν; ἀλλ' ὅμως αὐτόχειρ αὐτῶν ἐγένετο. νὴ Δία, ἐρεῖ τις, ὀργιζομένη καὶ ζηλοτυποῦσα. τοὺς πολλοὺς δὲ οὐκ ἂν οἴει καὶ[1] ζηλοτυπῆσαι; τί δέ; φθονῆσαι; τί δέ; ἐλπίσαι; σχεδὸν γὰρ αἰεὶ καὶ συνεχῶς ἐν τούτοις εἰσίν. μὴ τοίνυν πίστευε τοῖς εὐνοεῖν φάσκουσι καὶ μηδέποτε ἂν[2] ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τὴν πρὸς σὲ φιλίαν. ὥσπερ γὰρ αἱ τὸν ἄνεμον σημαίνουσαι ταινίαι κατὰ τὴν στάσιν αἰεὶ τοῦ πνεύματος αἰωροῦνται, νυνὶ μὲν οὕτως, πάλιν δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἡ τῶν φαύλων διάνοια πρὸς πᾶσαν φορὰν οὕτως[3] ἔχει.

9 Τοῖς δούλοις οὐδεὶς πιστεύει συντιθεμένοις διὰ τὸ μὴ κυρίους ἑαυτῶν εἶναι· πολὺ μᾶλλον οὐ χρὴ προσέχειν ταῖς τῶν τοιούτων ὁμολογίαις. τῷ παντὶ γὰρ πλεῖον ἀπέχουσι τῆς ἐλευθερίας διὰ τὴν κακίαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι. τοῖς νεωτέροις τοσούτων ἐτῶν νόμος οὐκ ἐᾷ συμβάλλειν ὡς ἀπίστοις οὖσιν, οὐδὲ γυναικὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις συναλλάσσειν πλὴν ἄχρι μεδίμνου κριθῶν, διὰ τὸ τῆς γνώμης ἀσθενές. τῶν μὲν γὰρ πάνυ νέων[4] οὐθὲν διαφέρουσιν οἱ φαῦλοι, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν παιδαρίων, πλὴν τῷ

[1] καὶ deleted by Dindorf, Emperius reads ὀργίσασθαι καί.
[2] ἂν added by Madvig.
[3] After οὕτως Sonny adds ἢ οὕτως.
[4] νέων Arnim: νεωτέρων or μετεώρων.

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[1] In Euripides' *Medeia* the heroine has two children, sons of Jason, whom she had helped to gain the Golden Fleece.

to the gods in behalf of her children, or how many times did she suffer agony when they were ill, or how often would she have chosen to give her own life in their stead? Yet she became their murderer.[1] "Aye, by Zeus," some one will say, "in a fit of anger and jealousy." But do you not suppose that most of mankind could also become jealous, envious, apprehensive? Why, one might almost say that they are always and unceasingly in the grip of these emotions. Do not, therefore, trust those who say that they feel kindly toward you and that they never would abandon their affection for you. For just as the streamers which mark the breeze always flutter according to the quarter from which it blows, now in this direction and now in the opposite direction, in the same way the mood of the common herd shifts in response to each and every emotion.

Nobody trusts slaves when they make an agreement, for the reason that they are not their own masters; far more should one pay no heed to the agreements of such persons as I am describing. For in every respect human beings, because of their depravity, are farther removed from a state of freedom. The law does not permit one to make a contract with persons younger than a specified age on the ground that they are untrustworthy, nor, at Athens, may one have business dealings with a woman except to the extent of a measure of barley because of the weakness of female judgement. In fact, ordinary persons are no better than the very young, or rather than even the little boys, except in their bodily

For reasons of state he abandoned Medeia and married a Corinthian princess, whereupon Medeia slew her children and the princess, and sought refuge in Athens.

δύνασθαι καὶ τῇ πανουργίᾳ· διὸ μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς ἀπιστεῖν ἐκείνων προσήκει.

10 Μακάριον γὰρ ἂν ἦν, εἰ καθάπερ παῖδα καὶ μειράκιον καὶ νεανίσκον καὶ πρεσβύτην χρόνος ποιεῖ, καὶ φρόνιμον οὕτως καὶ δίκαιον καὶ πιστόν. καὶ μὴν τῶν γυναικῶν τῶν φαύλων οὐδέν εἰσι βελτίους οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ μοχθηροί. κατὰ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα διαφέρουσιν, οὐ κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν. καθάπερ οὖν πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐκείνας ἐᾷ προσίεσθαι τῶν πλείονος ἀξίων ὁ νόμος, ἀλλ' ὥρισται μέχρι τίνος προσήκει· τὸν αὐτόν, οἶμαι, τρόπον καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς μέχρι τῶν ἐλαχίστων κοινωνητέον· πράξεων δὲ μειζόνων ἢ λόγων ἀναγκαίων ἢ τῆς
11 ἀσφαλείας τῆς περὶ τὸν βίον οὐδέποτε. καὶ γὰρ εἴ ποτε ἀπέχονται τοῦ κακῶς ποιεῖν δι' ἣν δήποτ' αἰτίαν, ὥσπερ τὰ θηρία πολλάκις ἠρεμεῖ κοιμώμενα ἢ ἐμπεπλησμένα, τὴν μέντοι φύσιν οὐκ ἀποβέβληκε τὴν αὑτῶν, παραπλησίως δὴ κἀκεῖνοι χρόνον τινὰ οὐκ ἔβλαψαν, ἔπειτα συμβάσης προφάσεως καὶ τὸν[1] τόκον, φασί, καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον τῆς πονηρίας ἐκτίνουσιν.

Ὁ Λάκων, ἐν ὁμιλίαις τινῶν συντιθεμένων αὐτῷ καὶ ἀξιούντων παρ' αὐτῶν λαμβάνειν ἣν ἂν προαιρῆται πίστιν ὑπὲρ τῆς φιλίας, μίαν ἔφη πίστιν εἶναι τὸ ἐὰν θέλωσιν ἀδικῆσαι μὴ δύνασθαι, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς πάσας εὐήθεις καὶ τελέως ἀσθενεῖς.
12 ταύτην μόνην παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν τὴν πίστιν δεῖ λαμβάνειν, ἑτέραν δὲ οὐδεμίαν. ἡ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν

[1] τὸν added by Reiske.

strength and their rascality; consequently they deserve to be distrusted more than those others.

It would indeed be a blessing if, just as one becomes successively a lad, a stripling, a youth, and an old man by the passing of time, one might also in the same way become wise and just and trustworthy. Yet it must be said that not one whit better than women of the meaner sort are the men who are depraved. They differ in body, not in mind. Accordingly, just as the women are not allowed by law to accept agreements involving too large a sum, but a limit has been set defining the amount to which they may do so, in the same way, I believe, we should also have dealings with the ordinary run of men so far as the things of least importance, but in actions of greater importance or in discussions about urgent matters or in the safeguarding of one's existence, never! For the fact is, if they ever refrain from doing mischief for whatever reason, just as the wild beasts often are quiet when asleep or sated with food, though they have not discarded their own peculiar nature, similarly the masses too for a time do no harm, yet later when some pretext is presented they pay in full, as the saying goes, both the interest and the principal of their villainy.

The Spartan, when in social gatherings certain persons offered to make a compact with him and invited him to take as a guarantee of their friendship whatever he might choose, replied that there was only one guarantee, namely, their inability to do harm even if they wished, but that all other guarantees were foolish and absolutely good for nothing. That guarantee alone should one accept from the masses, no other. For the guarantee which consists in

λόγων καὶ τῆς συνηθείας καὶ τῶν ὅρκων καὶ τοῦ γένους καταγέλαστος. ὁ Ἀτρεὺς ἀδελφὸς ἦν τοῦ Θυέστου καὶ τῶν παιδαρίων, ἃ κατέκοψεν, θεῖος· ὁ Ἐτεοκλῆς καὶ ὁ Πολυνείκης οὐ μόνον ἀδελφοὶ κατὰ τὸν νόμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ υἱοῦ καὶ μητρὸς γεγονότες τῶν ξυγγενεστάτων· ὥστ', εἴπερ ὠφέλει τι τὸ γένος, οὗτοι μάλιστα ἁπάντων ἀλλήλους[1] ὤφειλον ἀγαπᾶν· ἀλλ' ὁ πιστευθεὶς πρῶτον τὸν
13 πιστεύσαντα ἐξέβαλε καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἀπεστέρει καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀλλήλους ἀπέκτειναν. ὁ Θησεὺς τὸν Ἱππόλυτον, πατὴρ ὢν καὶ Ποσειδῶνος υἱός, διαβολαῖς πεισθεὶς ἀπέκτεινε καταρασάμενος. ὁ Πρίαμος πρότερον εὐδαιμονίᾳ διαφέρων καὶ τοσούτων ἐθνῶν καὶ τηλικούτου τόπου βασιλεύων,

ὅσσον Λέσβος ἄνω Μάκαρος ἕδος ἐντὸς ἐέργει
καὶ Φρυγίη καθύπερθε καὶ Ἑλλήσποντος ἀπείρων

διὰ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὴν ἀκρασίαν τὴν ἐκείνου πάντων ἀθλιώτατος ἐγένετο. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐπίσημοι. πόσον δέ, οἴει, πλῆθος ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει τῶν ἀφανῶν καὶ δημοτικῶν Ἀτρέων καὶ Θυεστῶν, τῶν μὲν καὶ ἀποκτιννύντων κρύφα, τῶν δὲ εἰς ἄλλα ἐπιβου-

[1] After ἀλλήλους Pflugk deletes μᾶλλον.

[1] This is but one chapter in the scandalous tale of the dealings of these two brothers, a tale that forms the background of many a Greek tragedy; cf. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, epitome 2. 10-14. In revenge for the seduction of his wife Atreus slew the children of Thyestes and served their flesh as food for their father to eat.

[2] Oedipus unwittingly married his mother Jocasta, and by her he became the father of Eteocles and Polyneices. When Oedipus discovered his sin and gave up his throne in Thebes, Eteocles expelled his brother, but Polyneices led an army against Thebes, and in the ensuing battle each slew the other.

phrases, in acquaintanceship, in oaths, in kinship is laughable. Atreus was the brother of Thyestes and the uncle of the little boys whom he slaughtered[1]; Eteocles and Polyneices were not only brothers according to the law, but also children of a son and his mother, the closest relationship possible; wherefore, if there were any utility in birth, these most of all should have loved each other; whereas, in the first place, he who had been trusted expelled the brother who had trusted him and robbed him of his country, and after that they slew each other.[2] Although Theseus was the father of Hippolytus and the son of Poseidon, persuaded by slanders he cursed his son and brought about his death.[3] Priam, who previously had been notable for good fortune and who was king over so many tribes and so wide a domain—

> Seaward as far as Lesbos, the abode
> Of Macar, landward to Phrygia and the stream
> Of boundless Hellespont[4]—

all because of his son[5] and that son's incontinence became the most wretched man of all. Now these were men of mark, but how great a multitude do you suppose can be found in every city of the obscure and plebeian Atreuses and Thyesteses, some actually committing murder undetected, and some making

[3] Phaedra, the step-mother of Hippolytus, thwarted in her passion for the youth, committed suicide, and Theseus, betrayed by the false charges she left behind, cursed his son and caused his death. The tale is told by Euripides in his *Hippolytus*.

[4] *Iliad* 24. 544-545, quoted with some variation in Or. 33. 19.

[5] Paris.

14 λευόντων; Ἀερόπας μέν γε καὶ Κλυταιμνήστρας καὶ Σθενεβοίας οὐδὲ εἰπεῖν ἔστιν.[1]

Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τοῦ γένους καὶ τῆς οἰκειότητος τοιαῦτα, τὰ δὲ τῶν ὅρκων ποῖα;[2] ὁ Πάνδαρος ὤμοσε τῷ Μενελάῳ, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Τρῶες, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἧττον ἔτρωσεν αὐτόν. Τισσαφέρνης οὐκ ὤμοσε τοῖς περὶ Κλέαρχον; τί δέ; ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐχὶ καὶ τοὺς βασιλείους θεοὺς καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν ἀπέστειλε; Φίλιππος δὲ ὁ Μακεδὼν οὐ διετέλει καθάπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον εὐχρήστων καὶ τὴν ἐπιορκίαν παρεσκευασμένος καὶ δυσὶ τούτοις τὰς πόλεις αἱρῶν, τῷ τε παρασπονδεῖν καὶ τῷ τοὺς προδώσοντας παρασκευάζειν; τῷ παντὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον τὸν τρόπον οἰκειότερον εἶχε[3]· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ προδόταις ἀργύριον ἦν ἀνάγκη διδόναι, τοῖς θεοῖς δὲ περὶ ὅρκων[4] οὐθὲν ἐτέλει.

15 τὸν δὲ Λύσανδρον τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι λέγουσιν ὅτι τοὺς μὲν παῖδας ἀστραγάλοις καὶ σφαίραις ἐξαπατᾶν δεῖ, τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας ὅρκοις καὶ ῥήμασιν.[5] ἡ κερδαλῆ δὲ ἀλώπηξ ἑτέρα τίς ἐστι παρὰ Ἀρχιλόχῳ; τὸν δὲ τοῦ Γλαύκου

[1] οὐδὲ εἰπεῖν ἔστιν] ὅσας οὐδὲ εἰπεῖν Hertlein, οὐδὲ εἰπεῖν ἔστιν ὅσαι Arnim.

[2] ποῖα added by Arnim.

[3] εἶχε Capps, ἔχων Casaubon : ἔχειν.

[4] περὶ ὅρκων] ἐπιορκῶν Gasda.

[5] ῥήμασιν Emperius : χρήμασιν.

[1] Notorious examples of marital infidelity. Aëropê, wife of Atreus, had an affair with his brother; Clytaemnestra, wife of Agamemnon, lived in adultery with his kinsman Aegisthus, with whose aid she slew her husband on his

plots of other kinds? As for the Aëropês and Clytaemnestras and Stheneboeas, they are too numerous to mention.[1]

Well, such are the facts about family and domestic ties, but how about oaths? Pandarus gave an oath to Menelaüs, as did the other Trojans too, but none the less he wounded him.[2] Did not Tissaphernes give an oath to Clearchus and his men? What! did not the Great King send them the royal gods and his plighted word?[3] Again, take Philip of Macedon; just as any other weapon which was serviceable for his warfare, was he not always equipped with perjury too; and was he not always seizing the cities by means of these two devices, either violation of treaties or suborning of traitors?[4] He found the former altogether more congenial; for while he had to give money to the traitors, to the gods he paid nothing in connexion with oaths. As for Lysander the Spartan, they say that he gave as his opinion that boys should be deceived with knucklebones and balls, but men with oaths and phrases.[5] But is the crafty fox at all different, as portrayed by Archilochus?[6] And as for the oracle received

return from Troy; Stheneboea, having failed to seduce her husband's guest, Bellerophon, falsely accused him and plotted his death.

[2] Pandarus shared in the oath given in behalf of all the Trojans (*Iliad* 3. 298-301) and was led by Athena to violate it (*ibid.* 4. 86-140).

[3] Cf. Xenophon, *Anabasis* 2. 3. 26-28; 2. 4. 1; 2. 5. 27 ff.

[4] On his bribery, cf. Demosthenes, *de Falsa Leg.* 265-268.

[5] Cf. Plutarch, *Lysander* 8.

[6] The fragments of his poem are in Edmonds, *Elegy and Iambus* II, p. 145 (L.C.L.); cf. Aesop 44 for a prose version. The fox tricked the ape by playing upon his cupidity and pride.

χρησμὸν οὐκ οἴει πρότερον δεδωκέναι[1] τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὀμνύειν

ἐπεὶ θάνατός γε καὶ εὔορκον μένει ἄνδρα.

καὶ τούτους μὲν τοὺς προειρημένους καὶ τοιούτους ἑτέρους διὰ τὰς περιστάσεις συμβέβηκεν ἐνδόξους γεγονέναι, τῶν δὲ ἀφανεστέρων Γλαύκων ἢ Πανδάρων μεσταὶ μὲν ἀγοραὶ ἀνθρώπων, μεσταὶ δὲ ἀγυιαί. διὸ μήτε τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα μήτε τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν σύμβουλον τῆς ἐπιορκίας λαμβάνουσιν.

16 Ἀλλ' ἡ συνήθεια τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μέγα δίκαιον τοῦ μηθὲν ἀδικεῖν καὶ σπονδαὶ καὶ τράπεζαι. τὸν Εὔρυτον ἀπέκτεινεν ὁ παρ' αὐτῷ ξενίσας,[2]

σχέτλιος, οὐδὲ θεῶν ὄπιν ᾐδέσατ' οὐδὲ τράπεζαν,
τὴν ἥν οἱ παρέθηκεν· ἔπειτα δὲ πέφνε καὶ αὐτόν.

καίτοι θεὸς ἔδοξεν οὗτος[3] τὴν τῶν θεῶν ὄπιν οὐκ αἰδεσάμενος οὐδὲ τὴν τράπεζαν καὶ

τέρπεται ἐν θαλίῃ, κατέχων καλλίσφυρον Ἥβην.

τὸν Ἀρχίλοχον οὐδὲν ὤνησαν οἱ ἅλες καὶ ἡ τράπεζα πρὸς τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῶν γάμων, ὥς[4] φησιν

[1] πρότερον δεδωκέναι] πρότερον δεδαηκέναι Emperius, Ἡρόδοτον διαδεδωκέναι τοῖς πλείστοις or Ἡρόδοτον δεδιδαχέναι τοὺς πλείστους Arnim.
[2] αὐτῷ ξενίσας Arnim : αὐτῷ ξενισθείς.
[3] After οὗτος Reiske adds ὁ.
[4] ὥς Dindorf : ὧν.

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[1] For the complete response of the Pythia, see Herodotus 6. 86.
[2] Aratus, *Phaenomena* 2-3.
[3] Since Pandarus and Glaucus did not gain by consulting Athena and Apollo, later perjurers avoided these gods.

by Glaucus, do you not imagine that most men had given that advice ere then, namely, to swear,

> Since death awaits as well the man who keeps
> His oath ?[1]

Furthermore, while it has so happened that the persons just named and others like them achieved notoriety because of the great events in which they took part, with the less illustrious Glaucuses or Pandaruses "the marts are thronged and thronged the ways."[2] This explains why they take neither Apollo nor Athena as counsellor in their perjury.[3]

But, you say, familiar acquaintance constitutes for mankind a great moral bar against any injury, as also do treaties and hospitality. Eurytus was slain by the man who had entertained him in his house,

> The daring one, who feared not Heaven's wrath,
> Nor reverenced the table he had spread,
> But later even slew his guest.[4]

And yet he came to be thought a god, though he had shown no reverence for the anger of the gods or for the table of hospitality, and he

> Delighteth in the feast and hath for wife
> Fair-ankled Hebê.[5]

As for Archilochus, his salt and table availed him naught for the fulfilment of his marriage contract,

[4] *Odyssey* 21. 28-29. Dio seems to be quoting from memory, for he has confused Eurytus with his son Iphitus, who went to the house of Heracles in quest of his stolen mares and there met death. Dio's error may be due to the fact that Homer is speaking of the bow used by Odysseus, commonly called "the bow of Eurytus."

[5] *Ibid.* 11. 603. Upon his death Heracles was raised to godhead.

17 αὐτός. ὁ Λυκάων[1] ἀνόητος[2] εἰς τὸν Ἀχιλλέα δεύτερον ἐμπεσών, δέον αὐτὸν ἢ μάχεσθαι προθύμως ἢ φεύγειν τάχιον,

πὰρ γὰρ σοὶ πρώτῳ, φησί, πασάμην Δημήτερος ἀκτήν.

τοιγαροῦν πρότερον, ὁπότε οὐδέπω μετειλήφει τῆς παρ' αὐτῷ τροφῆς, εἰς Λῆμνον ἀπεμποληθεὶς ἐσώθη· τότε δὲ ληφθεὶς ἀπεσφάγη. τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ὤνησεν ἡ Δημήτηρ. τὰς νήττας καὶ τὰς πέρδικας οὐ πρότερον θηρεύομεν, πρὶν ἂν φάγωσι
18 παρ' ἡμῶν. ὁ δὲ Αἴγισθος τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα

δειπνίσσας ὥς τίς τε κατέκτανε βοῦν ἐπὶ φάτνῃ.

καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν Τρώων οὐδὲν ἔπαθεν ἐν δέκα ἔτεσιν οἷς ἐπολέμει καὶ οὐδεπώποτε αὐτοῖς συνέστιος ἐγένετο· εἰς δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐλθὼν διὰ τοσούτου χρόνου, θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τράπεζαν παραθέμενος, ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας γυναικὸς οὕτως ὠμῶς ἀνῃρέθη. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κάτω περιτυχὼν
19 τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ μέμφεται Κλυταιμνήστραν· μηδὲ γὰρ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ τελευτῶντος συγκλεῖσαι· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις παρακελεύεται μηδέποτε πιστεύειν γυναικί,

[1] After Λυκάων Emperius deletes ὤν.
[2] ἀνόητος] ἀνοήτως Arnim.

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[1] Cf. Edmonds, *op. cit.* II. pp. 146-153, especially fragg. 96 and 97A. According to tradition, when Lycambes gave to another the daughter he had promised to Archilochus, the poet attacked him and his family with such savage verses that they committed suicide.

as he says himself.[1] Lycaon, fool that he was, having encountered Achilles a second time, though he should either fight with vigour or else flee with all speed, urges the plea,

> For with thee first I ate Demeter's grain.[2]

Well then, previously, when he had not yet partaken of Achilles' food, he was sold into Lemnos and thus saved; but this time when taken captive he was slaughtered. That was all the good Demeter did him. As for the ducks and partridges, we do not hunt them until they have eaten of our food. Take Aegisthus; he slew Agamemnon,

> First feeding him, as he who slays an ox
> Hard by the crib.[3]

And although Agamemnon had suffered no harm at the hands of the Trojans during the ten years in which he had been at war with them and had never sat at meat with them; on the other hand, when he had come home after so long an absence, had sacrificed to the gods, and had caused his own table to be spread before him, his own wife slew him so cruelly. Yes, afterwards, when at the gates of Hades he encountered Odysseus, he denounces Clytaemnestra, for he says she did not even close his eyes when he was dead[4]; and, furthermore, he urges Odysseus never to trust a woman,

[2] *Iliad* 21. 76. Though a prisoner of war and destined for the slave market of Lemnos, *loc. cit.* 77-79, Lycaon was a son of Priam and for that reason, no doubt, ate at the table of Achilles after his capture. He seems to make a point of the fact that Achilles was the first Greek with whom he ate.

[3] *Odyssey* 4. 535 and 11. 411.

[4] *Ibid.* 11. 423-426.

μηδέ οἱ ἐκφάσθαι πυκινὸν ἔπος.

Καίτοι ἡ Κλυταιμνήστρα οὐχ ὅτι γυνὴ ἦν ταῦτα διέθηκεν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ὅτι πονηρά· καὶ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον
20 οὐ χρὴ γυναικὶ ἤπιον εἶναι ἢ ἀνδρί. ἀλλ', οἶμαι, τῶν περιπεσόντων ἕκαστος, ὑφ' οὗ πέπονθε κακῶς, ἐκεῖνο μάλιστα ὑφορᾶται καὶ προλέγει φυλάττεσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὁ μὲν ὑπὸ ἔχεως πληγεὶς ὄφιν,[1] ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ σκορπίου σκορπίον· ὃν δ' ἂν κύων δάκῃ, ὄψει βακτηρίαν ἀεὶ περιφέροντα· τὸ αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους πεπόνθασιν οἱ πολλοί. τῷ μὲν ἐκ γυναικός τι συνέβη δεινόν· οὗτος δὴ κέκραγεν·

ὦ Ζεῦ, τί δὴ κίβδηλον ἀνθρώποις κακὸν
γυναῖκας εἰς φῶς ἡλίου κατῴκισας;

ἄλλον ὑποδεχθεὶς ξένος ἐλύπησεν, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ τοῦ Μενελάου κτήματα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ὑφελόμενος. ὁ τοιοῦτος πρὸς τοὺς ξένους διαβέβληται, πρὸς ἀδελφὸν ἕτερος, ἄλλος πρὸς υἱόν.

21 Τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα οὐ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν· οὐ γὰρ ὁ ἀδελφὸς οὐδὲ ὁ συγγενὴς οὐδὲ ὁ ξένος πέφυκεν ἀδικεῖν, ἀλλ' ὁ μοχθηρὸς ἄνθρωπος· τοῦτο δὲ μικροῦ δεῖν ἐν πᾶσίν ἐστιν· ἀλλ' εἰ νοῦν ἔχεις, πάντας εὐλαβοῦ. ξένος· εὐλαβοῦ. μέτριος εἶναί φησι· μᾶλλον εὐλαβοῦ. τοῦτο ἀκίνητον ὑπαρχέτω. νὴ Δί', ἀλλ' ἐπιδείκνυται δεξιοῦ τινος εὔνοιαν. οὐκοῦν ἀποδέχου τοῦτον, τοῖς θεοῖς εἰδὼς χάριν,

[1] ὄφιν] ἔχιν Emperius.

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[1] Dio must have in mind *Odyssey* 11. 441-443, as indicated by the similarity of sentiment and by the word ἤπιον in the next sentence, yet the wording is quite different from our text of the *Odyssey* passage.

[2] Euripides, *Hippolytus* 616-617. Hippolytus cries out against the wickedness of his step-mother Phaedra.

Or ever tell to her a crafty plan.[1]

Yet Clytaemnestra treated him as she did, not because she was a woman, but because she was a wicked woman; and there is no more reason for not being kind to a woman than to a man. However, I fancy, each one who has encountered misfortune distrusts particularly that because of which he has suffered and warns all others to beware of it. For instance, he who has been bitten by a viper warns against snakes, another who has been bitten by a scorpion warns against scorpions, and if a man has been bitten by a dog, you will see him always carrying a cane; in just that way most men behave toward human beings. One man has met with some dreadful misfortune because of a woman; so he cries to Heaven,

> O Zeus, why hast thou brought to light of day
> The breed of women, snare and curse to men?[2]

Another, a stranger who has been received as a guest, brings grief to his host, as Alexander did by stealing from Menelaüs his wealth and his wife. The man so treated has been made distrustful toward strangers, another toward a brother, another toward a son.

But the case is not so simple; for it is not the brother as such or the kinsman or the stranger who is by nature prone to do wrong, but rather the wicked man; but wickedness is found in almost all; aye, if you have good judgement, beware of all. A stranger? Beware. A fair and moderate man, he says? Beware still more. Let this principle be inviolate. "Yes," you counter, "but he shows the kindly disposition of a man of courtesy." Very well, accept him, with gratitude to the gods—or, so please

εἰ βούλει δέ, κἀκείνῳ· πρὸς δὲ τὸ μέλλον φυλάττεσθαι χρὴ αὐτόν. ὃ γάρ τις ἐπὶ τῆς τύχης εἶπε, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἂν ἐπ᾽ ἀνθρώπων τοῦτο ῥηθείη, τὸ μηδένα εἰδέναι περὶ μηδενός, εἰ μέχρι τῆς αὔριον
22 διαμενεῖ τοιοῦτος. τὰς γοῦν πρὸς αὑτοὺς[1] παραβαίνουσι συνθήκας καὶ συμβουλεύουσιν αὑτοῖς[2] ἕτερα, καὶ ἄλλα συμφέρειν νομίζοντες ἄλλα πράττουσιν. ὅθεν ὅταν τις ἐκ τοῦ πιστεύειν περιπέσῃ τινὶ τῶν δυσκόλων, γελοῖός ἐστιν αἰτιώμενος ἐκεῖνον ἑαυτὸν δέον, καὶ θεοὺς ἐνίοτε ἐπιβοώμενος, ὑπ᾽ ἀνδρὸς ἀπατηθεὶς φίλου καὶ συνήθους. οἱ δὲ θεοὶ καταγελῶσιν, εἰδότες ὅτι ἑαυτὸν ἐξηπάτησεν ἐπ᾽ ἄλλῳ ποιησάμενος. οἱ προσπταίοντες ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἢ νὴ Δία ἐμπεσόντες εἰς πηλὸν ἢ βόθρον οὐκ ὀργίζονται τοῖς λίθοις ἢ τῷ πηλῷ· τελέως γὰρ ἂν ἦσαν ἀπόπληκτοι, δέον αὑτοὺς αἰτιᾶσθαι καὶ τὸ μὴ προσέχειν.

23 Τί οὖν; φήσει τις, δεῖ θηρίου βίον προαιρεῖσθαι καὶ ζῆν ἔρημον; οὐ θηρίου, ἀλλ᾽ ἀνδρὸς φρονίμου καὶ ζῆν ἀσφαλῶς ἐπισταμένου. πολὺ γὰρ ἀσφαλεστέρα καὶ κρείττων ἡ ἐρημία τῆς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους κοινωνίας, ἐὰν ἀδεῶς γίγνηται καὶ χωρὶς κοινῶν προσοχῆς. ὥσπερ, οἶμαι, τοῖς πλέουσι τὸ πέλαγος συμφέρει μᾶλλον τῆς γῆς, εἰ μή τις ἐν εὐδίᾳ πλέοι καὶ σαφῶς εἰδὼς τοὺς τόπους· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ πελάγει σπάνιον εἴ που διεφθάρη[3] ναῦς, πρὸς δὲ

[1] αὑτοὺς Emperius : αὐτούς. [2] αὑτοῖς Emperius : αὐτοῖς.
[3] διεφθάρη Emperius : διαφθαρῇ.

you, to him as well—yet for the future you must watch him. For what some one has said about Fortune might much rather be said about human beings, namely, that no one knows about any one whether he will remain as he is until the morrow. At any rate, men do violate the compacts made with each other and give each other different advice and, believing one course to be expedient, actually pursue another. Thus it comes to pass that when a man, through trusting another, gets involved with one of those troublesome fellows, he makes himself ridiculous if he lays the blame on him when he should blame himself, and if he now and then cries out against the gods, when it is a man by whom he has been duped, a friend and close acquaintance. But the gods laugh at him, knowing as they do that he had duped himself by putting himself in another's power. Those who stumble on the street or, by Zeus, fall into a mud-puddle or a pit are not angry at the stones or at the mud; for they would be absolutely crazy if they did, seeing that they ought to blame themselves and their heedlessness.

"What!" some one will say, "must we choose the existence of a wild beast and live a solitary life?" No, not that of a wild beast, but rather that of a prudent man and of one who knows how to live in safety. For far safer and better is solitude than association with mankind, if only solitude be found apart from fear and devoid of solicitude for things of common interest. Just as, in my opinion, for persons making a voyage the open sea is more to their advantage than the coast, unless one be sailing in fair weather and be well acquainted with the region; for in the open sea rarely, if ever, is a ship wrecked,

ταῖς ἀκταῖς καὶ περὶ τὰς ἄκρας ἰδεῖν ἔστι τὰ
24 ναυάγια. τοιγαροῦν, ὅταν χειμὼν καταλάβῃ, τῶν μὲν ἀπείρων ἕκαστος ἐπιθυμεῖ τῆς γῆς, ὁ δὲ κυβερνήτης ὡς πορρωτάτω φεύγει. καίτοι λιμένας μὲν εὕροι τις ἂν ἀκλύστους, οἷς ἔνεστι πιστεύσαντας ἀσφαλῶς ὁρμεῖν, ἡλίκον ἄν ποτε ἀρθῇ τὸ πνεῦμα· τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων οἱ μετριώτατοι τοῖς θερινοῖς ὅρμοις ἐοίκασιν, οἵτινες πρὸς τὸ παρὸν σκέπουσι· κἀκείνων γὰρ ἕκαστος πρὸς ἕν τι τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον ἐπιεικής, οὐ μέντοι καὶ πρὸς τἄλλα ὑπάρχει. χρημάτων μὲν γὰρ ἕνεκεν οὐδέν σε ἀδικήσειεν ἂν[1]· ἔστω γὰρ εἶναί τινα τοιοῦτον· ἀλλὰ τάχ' ἂν ὀργῆς ἢ φιλοτιμίας καταλαβούσης οὐκ ἂν ἐπιγνοίης αὐτὸν ἀσάλευτον καὶ πιστόν.[2]

25 Οὐκοῦν τοῖς γε τοιούτοις ὅσον ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης καὶ τελέως ὀλίγον δεῖ χρῆσθαι, τὸ πλέον αὐτὸν ἐγρηγορότα καὶ φυλάττοντα, ὡς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς τὸν Ἕκτορά φησιν ὁ ποιητής·

ὁ δὲ ἰδρείῃ πολέμοιο
ἀσπίδι ταυρείῃ κεκαλυμμένος εὐρέας ὤμους
σκέπτετ' ὀϊστῶν τε ῥοῖζον καὶ δοῦπον ἀκόντων.

ὁμοίως ἐν τῷ βίῳ δεῖ τὴν φρόνησιν καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην προβεβλημένους καὶ καλυφθέντας αὐτῇ φεύγειν καὶ φυλάττεσθαι τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων κακίαν καὶ τὰς τέχνας καὶ τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς αἷς εἰώθασι χρῆσθαι.

26 Καθόλου δὲ θαυμαστόν, εἰ τὸ μὲν φαγεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς τραπέζης ἐμποδὼν ἔσται τῇ πονηρίᾳ

[1] ἂν added by Emperius.

[2] After πιστόν the MSS. read ἄλλως (or ἀλλ' ὡς) ὑπὸ μηδενὸς πάθους κινούμενον, ἐφ' ᾧ τις ἂν πιστεῦσαι βεβαίως δύναιτο:

but it is close to the shores and near the capes that the wreckage may be seen. Therefore, when storm overtakes a ship, though every landlubber longs for the land, the skipper flees from it as far as possible. Yet havens free from billows can be found, trusting which men may safely ride at anchor, however high the gale may rise. But with human beings, the most temperate are like our summer anchorages, which afford shelter for the moment only; for with men of that type also the individual is a reasonable person with regard to some one of life's problems, but with regard to the rest he is not. In money matters, for instance, he might never wrong you—granted, of course, that a man of that sort exists—but let a fit of rage or jealous rivalry seize him and you would perhaps not find him unshaken and trustworthy.

Accordingly, one should have dealings with such persons only in so far as one is compelled to do so and extremely little at that, what is more, keeping wide awake one's self and on guard, as the poet says of the Achaeans and Hector,

> But he, experienced in war, with shield
> Of ox-hide covered his shoulders broad and watched
> The whir of arrows and the thud of darts.[1]

Similarly in our life we must employ prudence and understanding as a shield and, covered by it, flee and guard against men's villainy and the tricks and plots which they are wont to use.

But, speaking generally, it would be surprising if eating from the same table were to prove a bar to

[1] *Iliad* 16. 359-361.

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*in other words, one moved by no unhappy experience, one you could trust with confidence*, which Emperius deletes.

καὶ νὴ Δία τὸ πιεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κρατῆρος καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν λύχνον ὁρᾶν· τὸ δὲ τὸν ἥλιον βλέπειν τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς τρέφεσθαι γῆς οὐδεὶς ὑπολογίζεται τῶν πονηρῶν· ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πανδοκεῖον ἢ νὴ Δία οἶκος ἕτερος ἐκ λίθων καὶ ξύλων ᾠκοδομημένος συγκίρνησιν ἀνθρώπους καὶ δύναται συνάγειν εἰς φιλίαν, ὥσπερ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀξιοῖ·

αἰδεῖσθαι δὲ μέλαθρον· ὑπωρόφιοι δέ τοί εἰμεν.

οὕτως ἡγεῖται τὴν σκηνὴν ἀξιωτέραν[1] αἰδοῦς, καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ ξύλων τῶν ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ γεγονυῖαν, ἤπερ αὐτούς. ὁ δὲ σύμπας οὐρανός, ὑφ' ᾧ πάντες ἐσμὲν ἀρχῆθεν, οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖ πρὸς ὁμόνοιαν οὐδὲ ἡ τῶν ὅλων κοινωνία θείων οὖσα καὶ μεγάλων, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον ἡ τῶν μικρῶν καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀξίων.

27 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἴδιος ἑκάστῳ πατήρ, πολλάκις οὐδενὸς ἄξιος πρεσβύτης, μέγα δίκαιον ὥστε μὴ ἐπιβουλεύειν ἀλλήλοις τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους· ὁ δὲ κοινὸς ἁπάντων "ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε," ἐξ οὗ πάντες γεγόναμεν, οὐ κατὰ Λάχητα ὢν οὐδὲ κατὰ Σίμωνα, οὐ δύναται κατασχεῖν οὐδὲ κωλῦσαι τὴν ἀδικίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε τοῖς λόγοις οὐκ ἂν πιστεύοι τις τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς φιλίας, τοῦτο γὰρ
28 λοιπόν ἐστι, φανερὸν δήπου. γελοῖον γὰρ ἀργύριον μὲν δανείζοντα τοῖς πέλας[2] μὴ ῥᾳδίως ἄν τινα πιστεῦσαι λόγῳ μόνῳ, ἀλλὰ μαρτύρων δεῖσθαι

[1] ἀξιωτέραν Geel: ἀξίαν.

villainy, and, forsooth, drinking from the same mixing-bowl and seeing the same lamp, when, on the other hand, seeing the same sun and being nourished by the same earth does not enter into the reckoning of any rogue; why, the tavern or, by Zeus, any other house made of stones and timbers mixes human beings together and can bring them together in friendship, just as Odysseus thinks is proper:

Respect the house; we're underneath thy roof.[1]

Thus he thinks that the hut—a hut, too, built of wood grown on hostile soil—is worthier of respect than the men themselves. Yet the whole sky, beneath which we all have been from the beginning, is of no avail toward producing concord, neither is our partnership in the universe, a partnership in things divine and majestic, but only, on the contrary, our partnership in things which are petty and worthless.

Again, every man's own father—often an ineffectual old man—is a great force for righteousness to prevent those of the same family from plotting against each other; while the common father of all, of "both men and gods," he from whom we all have our being, not a creature such as Laches or Simon,[2] cannot check or prevent the unrighteousness of men! Indeed, that one could not trust mere words about friendship—for this is the only point remaining—is no doubt clear. For it is absurd that, when lending money to one's neighbours, no one would lightly put faith in word alone, but instead requires witnesses

[1] *Iliad*. 9. 640. But it is Ajax, not Odysseus, who is complaining of Achilles' lack of hospitality.

[2] Seemingly equivalent to our "Smith or Jones."

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[2] πέλας Emperius: πολλοῖς.

καὶ γραμμάτων καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ ταῦτα παραβαίνειν.[1]

Τί οὖν; φησί τις,[2] οὐκ ἤδη τινὲς ἐγένοντο φίλοι τῶν πρότερον; οἷον πῶς[3] ἂν λέγοις[4] τοὺς ἡμιθέους[5] θρυλουμένους τούτους, Ὀρέστην καὶ Πυλάδην καὶ Θησέα καὶ Πειρίθουν καὶ Ἀχιλλέα καὶ Πάτροκλον; εἰ δ' οὖν τις συγχωρήσειεν ἀληθῆ τὴν δόξαν εἶναι ταύτην, δῆλον ὡς τρεῖς ἂν εἶεν φιλίαι γεγονυῖαι ἐν τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ, ἐν ὅσῳ πλεονάκις ἂν εἴποι τὸν ἥλιον ἐκλελοιπέναι.

[1] After παραβαίνειν Reiske noted a lacuna.
[2] φησί τις Capps : φησίν.
[3] πῶς] πᾶς Arnim.
[4] λέγοις Crosby : λέγοι.
[5] ἡμιθέους deleted by Arnim.

and writings—and many do violence to even these—[and, on the other hand, that the mere profession of friendship should suffice [1]].

"What!" somebody objects, "did not the men of former times have any friends? For instance, what would you say of these demigods that are on the lips of all: Orestes and Pylades, Theseus and Peirithoüs, Achilles and Patroclus?" [2] Well, if one were to admit that the popular belief about these is true, there would be three friendships that had occurred in a period of time so extensive that in it one could say that the sun had gone into an eclipse quite a number of times.

[1] The words "and, on the other hand, . . . should suffice" have been supplied from the context to fill out a lacuna.

[2] Typical pairs of devoted friends, each pair as famous as the biblical David and Jonathan.

# THE SEVENTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE: ON LAW

On stylistic grounds this Discourse has been assigned to the sophistic period of Dio's career. It is an encomium such as is familiar in sophistic literature, and it exhibits both the merits and the defects of that form of composition. Careful attention is paid to matters of detail connected with rhetorical effect, but one misses the note of sincere conviction to be found in many other writings of our author.

The topic chosen for eulogy is *νόμος*. As is well known, that word covers a wide range, meaning at one time usage sanctified by long tradition, at another divine ordinance, and at another statutory law. Dio treats all three varieties impartially, passing lightly from one to another and back again. The opening phrase, *ἔστι δέ*, suggests that our Discourse was preceded by an introductory composition no longer extant.

## 75. ΠΕΡΙ ΝΟΜΟΥ

1 Ἔστι δὲ ὁ νόμος τοῦ βίου μὲν ἡγεμών, τῶν πόλεων δὲ ἐπιστάτης κοινός, τῶν δὲ πραγμάτων κανὼν δίκαιος, πρὸς ὃν ἕκαστον ἀπευθύνειν δεῖ τὸν αὑτοῦ τρόπον· εἰ δὲ μή, σκολιὸς ἔσται καὶ πονηρός. οἱ μὲν οὖν τοῦτον φυλάττοντες ἔχονται τῆς σωτηρίας· οἱ δὲ παραβαίνοντες πρῶτον μὲν αὑτοὺς ἀπολλύουσιν, ἔπειτα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, παράδειγμα καὶ ζῆλον αὐτοῖς ἀνομίας καὶ βίας παρέχοντες. ὥσπερ δὲ τῶν πλεόντων οἱ τοῦ πυρσοῦ μὴ διαμαρτάνοντες, οὗτοι μάλιστα σῴζονται καὶ τοὺς λιμένας εὑρίσκουσιν, οὕτως οἱ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ζῶντες ἀσφαλέστατα πορεύονται διὰ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς καταγωγῆς τῆς δεούσης
2 τυγχάνουσιν. ἀνθρώπῳ μὲν οὖν ἤδη τις συμβούλῳ χρησάμενος μετενόησεν, οὐ μέντοι νόμῳ. τοσούτῳ δὲ τῶν τειχῶν ταῖς πόλεσι χρησιμώτερός ἐστιν, ὥστε ἀτείχιστοι μὲν πολλαὶ τῶν πόλεων διαμένουσι, νόμου δὲ χωρὶς οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεμίαν οἰκεῖσθαι πόλιν.

Οὐ μόνον δὲ συμφέρει τοῖς θνητοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς. ὁ γοῦν κόσμος ἀεὶ τὸν αὐτὸν νόμον ἀκίνητον φυλάττει καὶ τῶν αἰωνίων οὐδὲν ἂν παραβαίη τοῦτον. ὅθεν, οἶμαι, καὶ βασιλεὺς εἰ-

# THE SEVENTY-FIFTH DISCOURSE: ON LAW

The law is for life a guide, for cities an impartial overseer, and for the conduct of affairs a true and just straight-edge by which each must keep straight his own conduct; otherwise he will be crooked and corrupt. Accordingly, those who strictly observe the law have firm hold on safety; while those who transgress it destroy first of all themselves and then their fellows too, providing them with an example and pattern of lawlessness and violence. Yes, just as at sea those who do not miss the beacon are most likely to come through with their lives and to find their havens, so those who live according to the law journey through life with maximum security and reach the right destination. There have been, it is true, instances in which one who has used a human being as counsellor has done so to his sorrow, but not so with the law. So much more serviceable is it for our cities than their walls that many of them still remain unwalled, but without law no city can be administered.

But the law is of advantage not only to mortals, but to the gods as well. At any rate the universe always preserves the same law inviolate, and nothing which is eternal may transgress it. It is for that reason, methinks, that the law has appropriately

κότως ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν κέκληται, τὴν μὲν βίαν καταλύων, τὴν δὲ ὕβριν καθαιρῶν, τὴν δὲ ἄνοιαν σωφρονίζων, τὴν δὲ κακίαν κολάζων, ἰδίᾳ δὲ καὶ κοινῇ πάντας τοὺς δεομένους ὠφελῶν, τοῖς μὲν ἀδικουμένοις βοηθῶν, τοῖς δὲ ἀπορουμένοις
3 περί τινος μηνύων τὸ δέον. ὅταν γάρ τις συμβάντος τινὸς αὐτῷ δυσκόλου πράγματος ζητῇ τὸ συμφέρον, οὐδέν, οἶμαι, δεῖ φίλους παρακαλεῖν οὐδὲ συγγενεῖς, ἀλλὰ ἐλθόντα παρὰ τοὺς νόμους πυνθάνεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ[1] οὐκ ἂν τὸ οἰκεῖον σκοπῶν χεῖρον ἐκείνῳ παραινέσειεν οὐδὲ[2] ἀγνοήσας τὸ βέλτιον, οὐδὲ[3] δι' ἀσχολίαν τινὰ ἢ τὸ μὴ φροντίζειν τοὺς σκεπτομένους[4] παραιτήσαιτ' ἄν. τοὐναντίον γὰρ ἁπάντων ὁμοίως κήδεται καὶ σχολὴν ἄγει πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἄλλων πράγματα καὶ οὐδὲν ἴδιον οὐδὲ ἐξαίρετόν ἐστιν αὐτῷ.

4 Καὶ μὴν τοσούτῳ γε τῆς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν μαντείας ὠφελιμώτερός ἐστι νόμος, ὅσῳ τοὺς μὲν χρησμοὺς ἤδη τινὲς ἠγνόησαν καὶ δοκοῦντες πράττειν κατ' αὐτοὺς τἀναντία ἐποίησαν, ὅθεν, οἶμαι, συμφοραῖς ἐχρήσαντο· παρὰ τοῦ νόμου δὲ οὐδέν ἐστι σκολιὸν οὐδὲ ἀμφίβολον, ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς ἅπαντα ἃ προσήκει τοῖς δεομένοις φράζει. ἄρχων δὲ ἁπάντων καὶ κύριος ὢν χωρὶς ὅπλων καὶ βίας κρατεῖ· τοὐναντίον γὰρ αὐτὸς καταλύει τὴν βίαν· ἀλλὰ μετὰ

[1] γὰρ added by Crosby.
[2] οὐδὲ Emperius : οὔτε.
[3] οὐδὲ Emperius : οὔτε.
[4] σκεπτομένους Morel : κλεπτομένους.

been called "king of men and gods"[1]; for law does away with violence, puts down insolence, reproves folly, chastises wickedness, and in private and public relations helps all who are in need, succouring the victims of injustice, and to those who are perplexed about a course of action making known what is their duty. Whenever, for instance, a man is confronted by a perplexing situation and is seeking to discover what is expedient for him, he need not, I believe, call in friends or kinsmen, but rather go to the laws and pose his question. For the law would not, having an eye to its own advantage, give him inferior advice, nor yet through ignorance of the better course, nor would it because of some engagement or lack of interest beg its consultants to let it be excused. For, on the contrary, it has regard for all alike, and it has leisure for the problems of all others, and for it there is no private or special interest.

Again, law is more serviceable than the oracular responses of the gods in that, while there have been some who did not understand the oracles, and, supposing that they were acting in harmony with them, have done the very opposite—which accounts, I imagine, for their having met with disaster—from the law there proceeds nothing which is tortuous or ambiguous, but, instead, it puts in simple phrases everything which is appropriate for those who are in need. Besides, though ruler and master of all things, it exercises its authority without the use of arms and force—on the contrary, law itself does away with force; nay, it rules by persuasion and governs

[1] Cf. Pindar, frag. 169. Dio here puts into prose the most significant part of the passage; Plato quotes several lines from it in *Gorgias* 484 B.

πειθοῦς καὶ βουλομένων προέστηκεν. πείσας γὰρ πρότερον καὶ δοκιμασθεὶς οὕτως γίγνεται καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν τὴν αὑτοῦ λαμβάνει.

5 Τηλικαύτην δὲ ἔχει δύναμιν ὥστε καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ βοηθῶν. τοὺς γὰρ ἱεροσύλους καὶ τοὺς παραβαίνοντας τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὐσέβειαν κολάζει. καὶ μὴν αὐτόν γε οὐδὲ εἷς οἷός τέ ἐστιν ἀδικῆσαι. τῶν γὰρ παραβαινόντων τὸν νόμον
6 ἕκαστος οὐκ ἐκεῖνον, ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν βλάπτει. τοσαύτης δὲ δικαιοσύνης καὶ φιλανθρωπίας μεστός ἐστιν, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ἀτυχοῦσι χρησιμώτερος καθέστηκε τῶν γένει προσηκόντων καὶ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις ἰσχυρότερος τῆς αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ῥώμης, καὶ πατράσιν υἱέων εὐνούστερος καὶ παισὶ γονέων καὶ ἀδελφοῖς ἀδελφῶν. πολλοὶ γοῦν ὑπὸ τῶν φιλτάτων ἀδικούμενοι πρὸς τοῦτον καταφεύγουσιν. ἔτι[1] δὲ καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ μηδενὸς εὖ πεπονθὼς ὁ νόμος πᾶσιν ὧν ἂν εὐεργετήσωσιν ἑτέρους ἐκτίνει τὰς χάριτας, καὶ γονεῦσι παρὰ παίδων τὰς ὁμοίας κομιζόμενος καὶ τοῖς ἰδίᾳ τινῶν εὐεργέταις παρὰ τῶν εὖ παθόντων καὶ τοῖς κοινῇ φιλοτιμουμένοις παρὰ τῆς πόλεως.

7 Κάλλιστα δὲ τὰ ἆθλα[2] τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν πεποίηκε, στεφάνους καὶ κηρύγματα καὶ προεδρίας ἐξευρών· ἃ τοῖς μὲν παρέχουσιν οὐδεμίαν φέρει δαπάνην, τοῖς δὲ τυγχάνουσι τοῦ παντὸς ἄξια καθέστηκεν. ὅ τι δ' ἂν ἐθέλῃ τῶν εὐτελεστάτων, εὐθὺς τοῦτο μέγα καὶ τίμιον ἐποίησεν. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὸν

[1] ἔτι Arnim : εἰ. [2] τὰ ἆθλα Casaubon : τὰς ἄλλας.

willing subjects. For it is because it first persuades men and secures their approval that law comes into being and acquires its own power.

But so great is the power it possesses, that it is the law which assists even the gods. For example, the sacrilegious and those who violate the reverence due to the gods it punishes. Moreover, the law itself no one has the power to injure. For every one who transgresses the law harms, not the law, but himself. But such is the righteousness and benevolence which pervades the law, that for the unfortunate it has proved even more helpful than their blood relatives; and for the victims of injustice it has proved more potent than their own might; and for fathers, more kindly than their sons; for sons, more kindly than parents; for brothers, than brothers. At any rate many, when wronged by their closest kin, seek refuge with the law. Then too, though it has experienced no kindness at the hands of any one, the law renders thanks in full to all for the kindnesses which they show to others, exacting thanks alike for fathers from their sons, for those who have in private done some deed of kindness from those whom they have benefited, and for those who display public spirit in municipal affairs from their city.

Furthermore, most beautiful are the rewards which it has established for their benefactions, having devised crowns and public proclamations and seats of honour, things which for those who supply them entail no expense, but which for those who win them have come to be worth everything. Indeed, whatever it so desires, however inexpensive it may be, the law immediately renders important and precious. It is the law which has made the wild olive so im-

κότινον οὕτως μέγα καὶ τηλικαύτης ἄξιον σπουδῆς
8 ἀποδείξας καὶ τὰ σέλινα καὶ τὴν πίτυν καὶ τὸν τοῦ θαλλοῦ στέφανον· οὗτος ὁ τὰ τρία ῥήματα, οἷς ἕκαστος κηρύττεται τῶν ἀγαθῶν, πολλοῖς ἀποφήνας τοῦ ζῆν τιμιώτερα. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὰς πανηγύρεις συνάγων, ὁ τοὺς θεοὺς τιμῶν, ὁ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὔξων· οὗτος ὁ τὴν θάλατταν καθαίρων, ὁ τὴν γῆν ἥμερον ποιῶν, ὁ τοῦ Διὸς ὄντως[1] υἱός, ὁ τὴν ἀήττητον καὶ ἀνυπέρβλητον ἰσχὺν ἔχων· τοσοῦτον ἁπάντων σωφροσύνῃ καὶ πίστει διαφέρων ὥστε καὶ γυναικῶν κοινωνίαν καὶ παρθένων ὥραν καὶ παίδων ἀκμὴν τούτῳ πάντες πεπιστεύκαμεν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ παρθένου τῆς Δίκης οὔσης μόνος αὐτῇ διὰ σωφροσύνην σύνεστιν.

9 Οὗτος ἐπίκουρος γήρως, διδάσκαλος νεότητος, πενίας συνεργός, φύλαξ πλούτου, τῇ μὲν εἰρήνῃ σύμμαχος, τῷ δὲ πολέμῳ ἐναντίος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ πλέον[2] ἰσχύει. τὸν γοῦν παρὰ τῶν ἐχθίστων κήρυκα πεμπόμενον οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ σῴζων καὶ διαφυλάττων, παντὸς θώρακος καὶ πάσης ἀσπίδος ἰσχυρότερον αὐτῷ δοὺς ὅπλον τὸ κηρύκειον· ἔστι δὲ τοῦ νόμου σύμβολον.[3] διὰ τοῦτον τοὺς ἀποθανόντας οὐδεὶς ἔτι κρίνει πολεμίους οὐδὲ τὴν ἔχθραν καὶ τὴν ὕβριν εἰς τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ἐπιδείκνυνται.

10 Τοσούτῳ δὲ ταῖς[4] πόλεσι χρησιμώτερός ἐστιν

[1] ὄντως Sonny : ἑστὼς BMPH, ἐτεὸς U.
[2] πλέον] πλεῖστον Emperius.
[3] ἔστι δὲ . . . σύμβολον suspected by Geel.
[4] ταῖς Morel : τὸ M, omitted by UBPH.

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[1] The crown of wild olive was awarded at the Olympic Games, the parsley at Nemea, and the pine at the Isthmus.

portant, worth so much devoted effort, just as also with the parsley, the pine, and the olive crown [1]; it is the law which has made the three words with which each good man is publicly acclaimed [2] more precious to many than life itself. It is the law which convenes the national festive gatherings, which honours the gods, which exalts virtue; it is the law which purges the sea,[3] makes civilized the land, is the veritable son of Zeus, the possessor of invincible, insuperable might [4]; for it is so far superior to all else in temperance and trustworthiness that not only partnership with women but also the bloom of maidens and the prime of lads we all have entrusted to the law. Besides, though Justice is a virgin, such is his continence that Law dwells with her without a chaperon.

Law is a protector of old age, a schoolmaster of youth, of poverty a fellow labourer, a guard of wealth, to peace an ally, to war a foe. Nay, even in war itself law has the greater might. For instance, the herald who is dispatched from one's bitterest foes the law protects and guards, giving him as a weapon more mighty than any corselet or any shield the herald's staff—in fact, this is a symbol of the law. Because of the law the slain are deemed no longer to be foes, nor are hatred and insult wreaked upon their bodies.

Again, so much more useful is the law to our cities

Distinguished public service at Athens was also rewarded by "the olive crown"; cf. Aeschines 3. 187.

[2] The words in question may be ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός ἐστι, a phrase which occurs with great regularity in honorific decrees.

[3] That is, rids it of pirates.

[4] The law is here being compared to Heracles, whose labours consisted largely in ridding civilization of its foes.

ἤπερ τὰ πηδάλια ταῖς ναυσίν, ὥστε ἡ μὲν ἀποβαλοῦσα[1] τοὺς οἴακας ναῦς οὐκ ἂν ἀπόλοιτο μὴ χειμῶνος καταλαβόντος, πόλιν δ' οὐκ ἔνι σωθῆναι τοῦ νόμου λυθέντος, οὐδ' ἂν μηδὲν ἔξωθεν συμβαίνῃ δεινόν. ὥσπερ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ διανοίας διοικεῖται καὶ σῴζεται τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἕκαστος, ἡ δὲ ταύτης διαφθορὰ μανίαν καὶ παρακοπὴν φέρει, παραπλησίως, ἄν τις ἀνέλῃ τὸν νόμον ἐκ τοῦ βίου, καθάπερ, οἶμαι, τὸν νοῦν ἀπολωλεκὼς εἰς παντελῆ μανίαν καὶ ταραχὴν περιστήσεται.

[1] ἀποβαλοῦσα Pflugk : ἀποβάλλουσα.

than rudders are to our ships that, whereas a ship which has lost its rudders [1] would not perish unless a storm should overtake it, a city cannot be saved if the law has been destroyed, not even when no dire disaster befalls it from without. But just as each of us is governed and safeguarded by the intelligence which is in him, while its destruction entails madness and insanity, similarly, if one expels the law from his life, just as if he had lost his mind, I believe he will be brought into a state of utter madness and confusion.

[1] Greek ships commonly had two rudders, one on each side.

# THE SEVENTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE: ON CUSTOM

This is another sophistic exercise. Comparison with the preceding Discourse will show with what ease the sophist could shift his ground. In Or. 75 law is eulogized as a beneficent influence in human affairs; here custom has taken its place. Contradictions between the two documents abound, but perhaps none more striking than the two statements that follow: "from the law there proceeds nothing which is tortuous or ambiguous, but, instead, it puts in simple phrases everything which is appropriate for those who are in need" (Or. 75. 4) and "some laws have not been clearly written, and they are often warped and twisted by the eloquence of the orators; but our customs are never ambiguous or crooked, and oratory could not get the upper hand with them" (Or. 76. 4).

## 76. ΠΕΡΙ ΕΘΟΥΣ

1 Ἔστι δὲ τὸ ἔθος γνώμη μὲν τῶν χρωμένων κοινή, νόμος δὲ ἄγραφος ἔθνους ἢ πόλεως, δίκαιον δὲ ἑκούσιον, κατὰ ταὐτὰ[1] πᾶσιν ἀρέσκον, εὕρεμα δὲ ἀνθρώπων οὐδενός, ἀλλὰ βίου καὶ χρόνου. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων νόμων ἕκαστος ἅπαξ δοκιμασθεὶς ἔλαβε τὴν ἰσχύν· τὸ δὲ ἔθος ἀεὶ δοκιμάζεται. καὶ νόμος μὲν οὐδεὶς ῥᾳδίως ὑπὸ πάντων κριθήσεται[2]· ταῖς γὰρ τῶν πλειόνων δόξαις κυροῦται· ἔθος δὲ οὐκ ἐνῆν γενέσθαι μὴ προσδεχθὲν ὑπὸ πάντων. κἀκεῖνος ἀπειλῶν καὶ βιαζόμενος μένει κύριος, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐθῶν πειθόμενοι καὶ καλὰ καὶ συμφέροντα κρίνομεν αὐτά.

2 Διό μοι δοκεῖ τις ἂν προσεικάσαι τὸν μὲν ἔγγραφον νόμον τῇ δυνάμει τῆς τυραννίδος, φόβῳ γὰρ ἕκαστον καὶ μετὰ προστάγματος διαπράττεται· τὸ δὲ ἔθος μᾶλλον τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τῆς βασιλείας, βουλόμενοι γὰρ αὐτῷ πάντες καὶ δίχα ἀνάγκης ἕπονται.[3] καὶ νόμους μὲν ἴσμεν πολλοὺς ἀνῃρημένους ὑπὸ τῶν θέντων αὐτούς, ὡς πονηρούς·

[1] κατὰ ταὐτὰ Dindorf: καὶ κατὰ ταὐτὰ PH, καὶ ταὐτὰ B, καὶ ταῦτα UM.
[2] κριθήσεται] ἐγκριθήσεται Arnim.
[3] ἕπονται Geel: οἴονται.

# THE SEVENTY-SIXTH DISCOURSE: ON CUSTOM

Custom is a judgement common to those who use it, an unwritten law of tribe or city, a voluntary principle of justice, acceptable to all alike with reference to the same matters, an invention made, not by any human being, but rather by life and time. Therefore, while of the laws in general each obtains its power through having been approved once and for all, custom is constantly being subjected to scrutiny. Moreover, while no law will readily be chosen by everybody—for it is by the opinions of the majority that it is ratified—yet a custom could not come into being if not accepted by all. Again, while law by threats and violence maintains its mastery, it is only when we are persuaded by our customs that we deem them excellent and advantageous.

Therefore it seems to me that we might liken the written law to the power of tyranny, for it is by means of fear and through injunction that each measure is made effective; but custom might rather be likened to the benevolence of kingship, for of their own volition all men follow custom, and without constraint. Again, we know of many laws which have been repealed by those who made them, because they judged them to be bad; but no one could

ἔθος δὲ οὐκ ἂν οὐδεὶς ῥᾳδίως δείξειε λελυμένον. καὶ μὴν τῷ παντὶ ῥᾷόν[1] ἐστιν ἀνελεῖν ὅ τι βούλει
3 τῶν ἐγγράφων ἢ τῶν ἐθῶν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἂν ἀπαλείψῃς ἅπαξ, ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ λέλυται· συνήθειαν δὲ πόλεως οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν πάνυ πολλῷ καταλῦσαι χρόνῳ. κἀκεῖνοι μὲν ἐν σανίσιν ἢ στήλαις φυλάττονται· τῶν δὲ ἕκαστον ἐν ταῖς ἡμετέραις ψυχαῖς. ἀσφαλεστέρα δὲ καὶ κρείττων ἡ τοιαύτη φυλακή. καὶ μὴν ὁ μὲν ἔγγραφος νόμος αὐστηρός ἐστι καὶ ἀπηνής, ἔθους δὲ οὐδὲν ἥδιον. ἔπειτα τοὺς νόμους παρ' ἄλλων πυνθανόμεθα, τὰ δὲ ἔθη πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα.

4 Κἀκείνων μέν εἰσιν οὐ σαφῶς ἔνιοι γεγραμμένοι καὶ διαστρέφονται πολλάκις ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ῥητόρων δυνάμεως· τῶν δὲ ἐθῶν οὐδὲν ἀμφίβολον οὐδὲ σκολιόν, οὐδ' ἂν περιγένοιτ' αὐτῶν λόγος. κἀκείνων μὲν ἀεὶ δεῖ μνημονεύειν, εἰ μέλλοιμεν αὐτοῖς ἐμμένειν· τοῦ δὲ ἔθους οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ βουλομένους ἐπιλαθέσθαι· τοιαύτην γὰρ ἔχει[2] φύσιν ὥστε ἀεὶ ὑπομιμνήσκειν αὐτούς.[3]

Καθόλου δὲ τοὺς μὲν νόμους φαίη τις ἂν ποιεῖν δούλων πολιτείαν, τὰ δὲ ἔθη τοὐναντίον ἐλευθέρων. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ ποιοῦσιν[4] εἰς τὰ σώματα κολάσεις· παραβαινομένου δὲ ἔθους τὴν ζημίαν εἶναι συμβέβηκεν αἰσχύνην. ὥστε ἐκεῖνος μὲν φαύλων, οὗτος δὲ ἀγαθῶν ἐστι νόμος. εἰ γὰρ ἅπαντες ἦσαν ἀγαθοί, δῆλον ὅτι τῶν ἐγγράφων ἡμῖν οὐδὲν ἂν ἔδει νόμων. ἔτι δὲ[5] τῶν μὲν νόμων εἰσὶν οἱ βασιλεῖς

[1] ῥᾷόν Morel: ῥάδιόν. [2] γὰρ ἔχει Emperius: παρέχει. [3] αὐτούς] αὐτοῦ Emperius.

readily point to a custom which had been dissolved. Nay, it is altogether easier to do away with any written ordinance you please than to do away with any custom. For written ordinances, once the writing is erased, are done for in a single day; but a city's usage it is impossible to destroy in a very long period of time. Besides, while laws are preserved on tablets of wood or of stone, each custom is preserved within our own hearts. And this sort of preservation is surer and better. Furthermore, the written law is harsh and stern, whereas nothing is more pleasant than custom. Then too, our laws we learn from others, but our customs we all know perfectly.

Again, some laws have not been clearly written, and they are often warped and twisted by the eloquence of the orators; but our customs are never ambiguous or crooked, and oratory could not get the upper hand with them. Also the laws must be kept constantly in mind if we are to abide by them; whereas a custom men cannot forget, even if they would; for such is its nature that it is constantly reminding them.

And, speaking generally, while one might say that the laws create a polity of slaves, our customs, on the contrary, create a polity of free men. For the laws inflict punishment upon men's bodies; but when a custom is violated, the consequent penalty has always been disgrace. Therefore the one is a law for bad persons, the other for good persons. Indeed, if all men were good, evidently we should have no need of the written laws. Furthermore, although our

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[4] *ποιοῦσιν*] *ἀπειλοῦσιν* Arnim. [5] *δὲ* added by Emperius.

ἐπάνω καὶ πολλὰ πράττουσι παρ' αὐτούς, τοῖς δὲ ἔθεσι κἀκεῖνοι κατακολουθοῦσιν.

5 Καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐγγράφων οὐδὲν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἰσχύει, τὰ δὲ ἔθη φυλάττεται παρὰ πᾶσι, κἂν εἰς ἐσχάτην ἔχθραν προέλθωσιν. τὸ γοῦν μὴ κωλύειν τοὺς νεκροὺς θάπτειν οὐδαμῆ γέγραπται· πῶς γὰρ ἂν ὑπήκουον οἱ κρατοῦντες τοῖς τῶν ἡττωμένων ἐπιτάγμασιν; ἀλλ' ἔθος ἐστὶ τὸ ποιοῦν τῆς φιλανθρωπίας ταύτης τοὺς κατοιχομένους τυγχάνειν. ὁμοίως τὸ τῶν κηρύκων ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ μόνοις τούτοις πολλὴν ἀσφάλειαν εἶναι βαδίζουσιν. τῶν μὲν οὖν νόμον παραβαινόντων οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐπιδείξειεν οὐδένα, οἶμαι, φανερῶς ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν κεκολασμένον· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' ἐπεὶ παρέβησαν τὸ κηρύκων ἔθος, τοὺς παρὰ βασιλέως ἐλθόντας ἀνελόντες, ἐκολάσθησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ δαιμονίου.

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[1] Herodotus tells the tale (7. 133-137). When the heralds came demanding earth and water as tokens of submission to Persia, the Spartans cast them into a well, telling them to get their earth and water there. For a long time afterwards Sparta could not obtain favourable omens, until finally two

kings are above the laws and do many things in violation of them, even they follow the customs.

Again, of the written laws, not one is in force in time of war, but the customs are observed by all, even if men proceed to the extremity of hatred. For example, the provision that no one shall prevent the burial of the dead has nowhere been put in writing, for how could the victors obey the injunctions of the vanquished? Nay, it is custom which brings it to pass that the departed are granted that act of humanity. It is the same with the provision that no one shall lay hands on heralds, and that they alone enjoy complete security on their missions. Finally, from among those who transgress law, I believe that not one could be shown to have been punished openly by the gods; yet the Spartans, when they had transgressed the custom regarding heralds, having slain the heralds who came from the Great King, were punished by the divine power itself.[1]

nobles volunteered to offer themselves to the Great King in expiation of the crime against the sanctity of heralds. The king magnanimously spared their lives.

# THE SEVENTY-SEVENTH/EIGHTH DISCOURSE: ON ENVY

In enumerating the eighty items which he found in his copy of Dio, Photius lists next in order after Or. 76 two speeches entitled *περὶ φθόνου*. Some support is given Photius in that connexion by our manuscripts, for UB place at the beginning of the document before us the heading *περὶ φθόνου α*, and, to introduce § 15, a second heading, *περὶ φθόνου β*, while PH have preserved for us only §§ 1-14. These facts account for the double number attached to the present Discourse in editions of our author. How it came to be viewed as two separate documents is difficult to understand, for both parts deal with the same theme, the second part follows naturally upon the first, and there is no perceptible break between them. To be sure, dialogue predominates in the first part, while in the second there is almost unbroken exposition, but that is a phenomenon noticed in other specimens of Dio's teaching.

Arnim assigns this Discourse to the period of Dio's exile and regards it as a trustworthy and significant illustration of the way in which at that period he sometimes imparted instruction. The dialogue begins abruptly, the opening words revealing that the discussion is already under way. Almost immediately Dio's partner calls attention to the presence of a large company of listeners, who might find a detailed discussion irksome. Dio counters by asking if they have not assembled for the express purpose of listening to "wise words and about wise words," and he proceeds to test the sincerity of their interest by continuing the argument. But by the time we reach § 9 we find that—possibly because he has taken to heart the warning about his audience—he begins to abandon dialectic and to launch forth into rather continuous exposition. One is reminded of the Borysthenitic

Discourse (Or. 36), in which we are told that a large crowd has assembled to hear their visitor, and Dio, after a preliminary skirmish with the young Callistratus, directs his further remarks to his audience at large. The setting of our present Discourse cannot be determined with precision, but that it was delivered in some large city may be inferred from § 8. Furthermore, the size of the audience and the reference (§ 15) to a discussion which had taken place the day preceding suggest that Dio had been in residence long enough to have attracted some attention.

## 77. 78. ΠΕΡΙ ΦΘΟΝΟΥ[1]

1 Δ. Ἆρα διὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐνομίσθη σοφὸς ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν Ἡσίοδος καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἀνάξιος ἐκείνης τῆς δόξης, ὡς οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνῃ τέχνῃ τὰ ποιήματα ποιῶν τε καὶ ᾄδων, ἀλλὰ ταῖς Μούσαις ἐντυχὼν καὶ μαθητὴς αὐτῶν ἐκείνων γενόμενος; ὅθεν[2] ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὅ τι ἐπῄει αὐτῷ πάντα μουσικά τε καὶ σοφὰ ἐφθέγγετο καὶ οὐδὲν μάταιον, ὧν δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ἐστίν.

Τὸ ποῖον;

Δ. Καὶ κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ κοτέει καὶ τέκτονι τέκτων.

2 Πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα φανήσεται τῶν Ἡσιόδου πεποιημένα καλῶς περί τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν σχεδόν τι καὶ περὶ μειζόνων πραγμάτων ἢ ὁποῖα τὰ λεχθέντα νῦν· ἀτὰρ οὖν καὶ ταῦτα ἀπεφήνατο μάλ' ἀληθῶς τε καὶ ἐμπείρως τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως.

Δ. Βούλει οὖν ἐπιμελέστερον σκοπῶμεν αὐτά;

Καὶ πῶς ἡμᾶς ἀνέξονται τοσοῦτος ὄχλος περὶ τοιούτων διαλεγομένους;

[1] περὶ φθόνου MH, περὶ φθόνου α UB; see Introduction.
[2] ὅθεν Casaubon: ὃ ἦν (ἦν).

# THE SEVENTY-SEVENTH/EIGHTH DISCOURSE: ON ENVY

*Dio.* Is it really for these and similar reasons that Hesiod came to be regarded as a wise man among the Greeks and by no means unworthy of that reputation, as being one who composed and chanted his poems, not by human art, but because he had held converse with the Muses and had become a pupil of those very beings?[1] Whence it inevitably follows that whatever entered his mind he always expressed with both music and wisdom and in no instance without a purpose, as is clearly illustrated by the verse I have in mind.

*Interlocutor.* What verse?

*Dio.* Both potter at potter doth rage and joiner at joiner.[2]

*Int.* Many other verses of Hesiod's will be seen to have been well expressed about both men and gods, and, I may almost add, about more important matters than the sort just mentioned; yet here too, no doubt, he has expressed himself very truthfully as well as with experience of human nature.

*Dio.* Shall we, then, consider them more carefully?

*Int.* Why, how will so large a gathering bear with us if we discuss such matters?

[1] Hesiod tells of his encounter with the Muses in *Theogony* 22-34.

[2] Hesiod, *Works and Days* 25.

Δ. Τί δέ; οὐ σοφὰ καὶ περὶ σοφῶν ἥκουσιν ἀκουσόμενοι;

Φαῖεν ἄν, ὥς μοι δοκοῦσιν.

Δ. Ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸν Ἡσίοδον φαῦλον ἡγοῦνται καὶ ὀλίγου ἄξιον;

Οὐδαμῶς.

Δ. Ἀλλὰ περὶ φθόνου καὶ ζηλοτυπίας καὶ τίνες εἰσὶν οἱ πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὕτως ἔχοντες καὶ ἐπὶ τίσιν οὐ χρήσιμον αὐτοῖς ἀκροᾶσθαι;

Πάντων μὲν οὖν χρησιμώτατον.

3 Δ. Οὐκοῦν χρήσιμον[1] ἤδη καὶ ἀποπειρᾶσθαι τῶν ἀνδρῶν. φέρε δή, δι' ἄλλο τί φησι τούτους Ἡσίοδος εἶναι φθονεροὺς καὶ δυσκόλως ἀλλήλοις ἔχειν ἢ διότι ἧττον ἂν[2] ἐργάζοιτο[3] ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος ἕκαστος, ὅτου ἂν τύχῃ πράττων, πολλῶν ὄντων ὁμοίων;

Διὰ τί γὰρ ἄλλο;

Δ. Πότερον οὖν κεραμεῖ μὲν λυσιτελεῖ μηδένα ἄλλον εἶναι κεραμέα ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει τε καὶ κώμῃ, μαγείρῳ δὲ τοῦτο οὐ λυσιτελές, ὅπως ἐξῇ αὐτῷ ἀποδίδοσθαι ὁποῖ' ἂν ἔχῃ τὰ κρέα τοῖς δεομένοις, ἂν καὶ πάνυ λεπτὸν ἱερεῖον ἢ πρεσβύτερον τύχῃ πριάμενος;

Δῆλον ὅτι καὶ μαγείρῳ.

4 Δ. Τί δέ; βαφεῖ τὴν βαφικὴν ἐργάζεσθαι τέχνην οὐ μόνῳ αὐτῷ ἄμεινον ἢ μεθ' ἑτέρων ἀντιτέχνων, ἵνα ὁποιαοῦν ἀποδιδῶται τὰ βάμματα ταῖς γυναιξίν; ἀγαπήσουσι γὰρ ὠνούμεναι κἂν ὀλίγῳ βελτίω ἢ ὁποῖα εἰώθασιν αὐταὶ βάπτειν ἐν τοῖς

[1] χρήσιμον] χρὴ Arnim.
[2] ἂν Geel: ἐν M, omitted by UBPH.

*Dio.* Why not; have they not come to hear wise words and about wise words?

*Int.* They would say so, it seems to me.

*Dio.* But they do not regard Hesiod as commonplace and of small account, do they?

*Int.* By no means.

*Dio.* Well, is it not useful for them to hear about envy and jealousy, and who those are who are envious and jealous of one another, and for what reasons?

*Int.* Of course, most useful of all.

*Dio.* Then it is useful also to test the patience of the gentlemen without delay. Well now, does Hesiod have any other reason for saying that these men of his are envious and ill-disposed toward one another than because each would make less profit from his occupation, whatever that occupation may be, if there were many of a similar occupation?

*Int.* Why, what other reason could it be?

*Dio.* Then, if it is profitable for a potter that there should be no other potter in the same city or village, is this not profitable for a butcher, to the end that he may have the opportunity to sell whatever kind of meat he has to those who need it, even if by chance he has bought a very lean or oldish carcass?

*Int.* Evidently it is profitable for a butcher too.

*Dio.* Well then, is it not preferable for a dyer to ply his trade as dyer all by himself rather than in competition with other craftsmen, so that he may be able to sell his dyes, of whatever quality they may be, to the women? For they will then be satisfied to buy dyes even slightly better than the kind they are themselves accustomed to use for dyeing on their

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[3] After *ἐργάζοιτο* Geel deletes *τῆς αὐτοῦ τέχνης* (*τὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ τέχνης* UB, *τὴν αὐτοῦ τέχνην* PH).

ἀγροῖς ὡς ἔτυχε, καὶ οὐ ζητήσουσι δευσοποιὰ καὶ ἁλουργῆ.

Πῶς γὰρ ζητήσουσι;[1]

Δ. Φέρε, πορνοβοσκῷ δὲ οὐ κερδαλεώτερόν τε καὶ ἄμεινον πρὸς τὴν ἐμπολὴν μόνον ἔχειν τοῦτο τὸ[2] ὄνειδος καὶ μόνον αὐτὸν ἀκούειν κακῶς ἢ σὺν ἑτέροις, ὁμοίως μὲν ἐν πόλει τρέφοντα καὶ ἀσκοῦντα τοιοῦτον θρέμμα, ὁμοίως δὲ εἰς Πυλαίαν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πανηγύρεις πορευόμενον καὶ περιάγοντα;

Καὶ πάνυ μοι δοκεῖ πορνοβοσκὸς εὔξασθαι ἂν ἀνδρῶν ὁμοτέχνων πολλὴν ἐρημίαν.

5 Δ. Ἆρ' οὖν καὶ περὶ πάντων ἁπλῶς οὕτως ὑπελάμβανε τῶν τὰς αὐτὰς ἐργασίας ἐργαζομένων, ὡς βλαβεροὺς ὄντας ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἐμποδὼν πρὸς τὸν βίον;

Περὶ πάντων, ὡς τὸ εἰκός.

Δ. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔπρεπεν, οἶμαι, καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπεξιέναι. καὶ γὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἔθος ἐστὶν αὐτῷ περὶ ὅλου τοῦ πράγματος φράζειν ἐφ' ἑνὸς ἢ δυοῖν· οἷον ὅταν φῇ μηδ' ἂν βοῦν ἀπολέσθαι τινὶ ἄνευ τῆς τοῦ γείτονος πονηρίας, οὐ δήπου φησὶν ὅτι βοῦν μὲν ἀπολέσαι ἂν γείτων πονηρὸς ἢ ἄλλοις[3] συγγνοίη, πρόβατον δὲ οὐκ ἂν ὑφέλοιτο,[4] ἐὰν δύνηται λαθεῖν, οὐδὲ αἶγα τῶν καλῶν τῶν πολὺ ἀμελγομένων καὶ διδυμοτοκουσῶν· ἀλλὰ δῆλον ὅτι ὡς πρὸς συνιέντας λέγει τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας τοῖς

[1] ζητήσουσι Reiske : ζητοῦσι.
[2] τὸ added by editio princeps.
[3] ἄλλοις Selden : ἄλλως.
[4] ὑφέλοιτο Reiske : ἀπόλοιτο.

farms, dyes picked up at random, and they will not demand fast colours and royal purples.

*Int.* Of course they will not.

*Dio.* Well, how about a brothel-keeper? Is it not more profitable and better with a view to his earnings that he alone should have this reproach and alone be called vile names rather than in company with others, alike whether supporting and training that kind of cattle in the city or taking to the road and dragging his stock about to the congress at Thermopylae [1] and to the other great festive gatherings as well?

*Int.* Indeed I am quite sure that the brothel-keeper would pray that fellow artists might be very scarce.

*Dio.* Then, was it about all, that is, all who are engaged in the same line of business, that he was making an assumption in terms so sweeping, believing that all are detrimental to one another and a hindrance in the gaining of their living?

*Int.* Yes, he meant all, most likely.

*Dio.* Aye, it was not like him, I suppose, to take them up one by one. For certainly in other matters it is his custom to treat of the whole topic by means of one or two examples. For instance, when he says that a man would not even lose an ox except for the depravity of his neighbour,[2] he surely does not mean that, while a bad neighbour would destroy an ox or condone the crime in others, he would not steal a sheep, provided he could escape detection, or one of the fine goats which yield abundant milk and bear twins; nay, manifestly he speaks to those who read

[1] Thermopylae was the meeting place of the Delphic Amphictyony.
[2] *Works and Days* 348.

6 ποιήμασιν. οὐκοῦν περὶ πάντων αὐτὸν ἑνὶ λόγῳ φῶμεν ἐν βραχεῖ λέγειν οὕτως τῶν ὁμοτέχνων, ὡς οὔτε φιλούντων αὑτοὺς οὔτε λυσιτελούντων ἀλλήλοις;

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

Δ. Φέρε δὴ πρὸς θεῶν, ἡ ναυτικὴ τέχνη ἐστίν, ἢ ἧττόν[1] τι τῆς κεραμευτικῆς ἢ τῆς μαγειρικῆς τυγχάνοι ἂν τοῦδε τοῦ ὀνόματος;

Οὐχ ἧττον ἴσως.

Δ. Ἆρ᾽[2] οὖν ἐν νηὶ μεγάλῃ πολλὰ ἱστία ἐχούσῃ καὶ φόρτον πολὺν καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβατῶν ὅμιλον εἷς ναύτης καλῶς πράττοι ἄν, καὶ συμφέροι αὐτῷ μηδένα ἄλλον ἐν τῇ νηὶ πλεῖν μήτε μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ μήτε ἔλαττον ἐπιστάμενον τὰ ναυτικά, ἂν δὲ πολλοὶ ὦσιν, ἀσύμφοροι ἀλλήλοις ἔσονται καὶ πρὸς βλάβης, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν νηὶ μισοῦσιν ἀλλήλους οἱ πλείονες ναῦται;

7 Τοῦτο μὲν ἕτερον τὸ τῶν ναυτῶν. ἀλλὰ κυβερνήτης γε, οἶμαι, κυβερνήτην οὐκ ἂν ἥδοιτο[3] ὁρῶν συμπλέοντα αὑτῷ.

Δ. Πότερον ὅταν χειμὼν ἰσχυρὸς ᾖ καὶ μὴ κατισχύῃ τοῖν πηδαλίοιν ἑκατέρου διὰ γῆρας ἢ διὰ βίαν τῆς θαλάττης, οὐδὲ τότε φιλεῖ κυβερνήτην ἄλλον οὐδ᾽ εὔχεται φανεῖσθαι τὸν διαδεξόμενον, οὐδ᾽ ὅταν κατακοιμηθῆναι δέηται, πολλὰς ἐφεξῆς ἀγρυπνῶν νύκτας καὶ ἡμέρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε ὁμοίως μισεῖ καὶ ζημίαν αὑτοῦ νενόμικεν εἰ κυβερνήτης ἐν τῇ νηὶ ἕτερός ἐστιν;

[1] ἢ ἧττόν Arnim : ἀλλ᾽ ἧττόν UBM, ἧττόν PH.

his poems as to intelligent persons. Are we, then, putting it concisely, to say that the poet, speaking thus briefly, refers to all who belong to the same craft as not loving one another and not benefiting one another?

*Int.* Most assuredly.

*Dio.* Well now, in Heaven's name, is seafaring a craft, or would it receive that label in any degree less than the craft of the potter or of the butcher?

*Int.* Not less, I suppose.

*Dio.* Then in a large ship with many sails and a large cargo and a crowd of passengers would a single sailor be successful, and would it be to his advantage to have no other sailor on board, be his knowledge of nautical affairs either greater or less than his own; and, on the other hand, if there are many of them, will they be detrimental to one another and harmful, and on that account on a ship do the majority of the sailors hate each other?

*Int.* This matter of the sailors is a different story. Yet at any rate a pilot, I fancy, would not enjoy seeing another pilot sailing with him.

*Dio.* When there is a violent storm and the pilot cannot control each of his two rudders because of old age or the violence of the sea, even at such a time does he not like another pilot or pray that the one to relieve him may make his appearance; or, again, when he needs to sleep, having been without sleep for many nights and days together, even in such circumstances too does he feel the same hatred, and does he consider it his loss if a second pilot is on board?

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[2] ἴσως. Δ. Ἆρ' Pflugk: ἴσως γὰρ.
[3] ἥδοιτο Selden: ἡγοῖτο.

Οὐκ ἂν ἴσως τότε μισοῖ· πῶς γάρ; ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς οὐ περὶ ναυτιλίας οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν ἐν θαλάττῃ λέγομεν.

8 Δ. Εἶεν· οὐκοῦν ὅ γε ἰατρὸς ἐπὶ γῆς ἰᾶται καὶ τέχνην οὐδὲν ἐλάττονα ἔχει τῶν τεκτόνων.

Τί οὖν δὴ τοῦτο;

Δ. Ἆρά γε δοκεῖ σοι βούλεσθαι μόνος ἂν εἶναι τὴν τέχνην ἐπιστάμενος ἐν πόλει τηλικαύτῃ τὸ μέγεθος, καὶ ταῦτα πολλῶν νοσούντων;

Τί δὲ κωλύει βούλεσθαι μόνον εἶναι; τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοις ἴσως χεῖρον οὐ δυναμένοις ὑφ' ἑνὸς ἰατρεύεσθαι, τὸ δέ γε ἐκείνου τιμιώτερον οὕτως. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἔστιν ἡλίκων ἂν καὶ ὅσων μισθῶν τυγχάνοι μόνος ἐν τοσούτοις νοσοῦσιν ἱκανὸς ὢν ἰᾶσθαι.

Δ. Ἀλλ' οὐ μαινόμενον ἰατρὸν λέγω σοι.

9 Τί δέ; μαινομένου σοι δοκεῖ τὸ ἐπιθυμεῖν σφόδρα τιμᾶσθαι καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα λαμβάνειν;

Δ. Ὅταν γε αὐτὸς ὑπὸ ληθάργου ἐχόμενος ἢ φρενίτιδι περιπεσὼν χαίρῃ, ὅτι οὐδένα ἔχει[1] τὸν ἰασόμενον οὐδὲ τὸν δώσοντα μανδραγόραν πιεῖν ἢ ἄλλο φάρμακον ὑγιεινόν, ἵνα δὴ μόνος ἔχῃ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει μισθούς τε καὶ τιμάς. εἰ δὲ δὴ σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ παιδία νοσοῖ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ καὶ οἱ φίλοι πάντες ἐπισφαλῶς, ἆρα καὶ τότε εὔχοιτ' ἂν μηθένα ἄλλον ἰατρὸν εὑρεθῆναι τὸν βοηθήσοντα·

[1] ἔχει Reiske : ἔχοι.

*Int.* Perhaps he would not hate him then; how could he? Still, we are not speaking of a sailor's craft or of nautical affairs either.

*Dio.* Very well. The physician, at any rate, practises his healing art on land and has a profession not inferior to that of the joiners.

*Int.* Well, what of that?

*Dio.* Do you really suppose he would like to be the only one acquainted with his art in a city as large as this, particularly if many are ill?

*Int.* What is to prevent his wishing to be the only one? For though for everybody else the situation may be worse, since they cannot all be treated by a single physician, still his work is prized more highly under these conditions. Nor can one tell the amount and the number of the fees he might take in if he, single-handed in the midst of so many sick, were able to provide treatment.

*Dio.* But I am not speaking to you of a physician who is crazy.

*Int.* What! Do you consider it the mark of insanity in a man to wish to be very highly prized and to amass great wealth?

*Dio.* Yes, if when he himself is a victim of lethargic fever or has an attack of inflammation of the brain he is delighted that he has no one to cure him and give him a potion of mandragora [1] to drink or some other healthful drug, his purpose being, forsooth, to be the only one to get the fees and honours in the city. But if, then, besides himself, his children also and his wife and his friends should be ill, all dangerously ill, would he even then pray that no other physician be found to come to his rescue; and if

[1] Mandragora was a recognized sedative.

ἐὰν δὲ φανῇ τις, κατὰ τὸν Ἡσίοδον κοτέειν μέλλει καὶ ἐχθρὸν ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν αὑτοῦ σωτῆρα καὶ τῶν φιλτάτων;

10 Φέρε, ἐὰν δὲ συμβῇ πρᾶγμα τοιοῦτον ὁποῖόν ποτε συνέτυχε περὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἰατρούς· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ἰώμενοι Δαρεῖον τὸν Πέρσην—ὡς ἔτυχεν αὐτῷ πεσόντι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου μεταχωρήσας ὁ ἀστράγαλος—οὐχ οἷοί τε ἦσαν ἰᾶσθαι κατὰ τὴν αὑτῶν τέχνην, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀγρυπνίας τε καὶ ἀλγηδόνας δεινὰς ἐνέβαλον αὐτόν, ἕλκοντες καὶ βιαζόμενοι τὸ ἄρθρον. τούτους μὲν οὖν ἐκέλευσε φυλάττειν, ὅπως ἀποθάνοιεν στρεβλωθέντες. πυθόμενος δ' ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις εἶναί τινα Ἕλληνα ἐπιχειροῦντα ἰᾶσθαι, καλέσας αὐτὸν ὑπὸ ἀμηχανίας
11 ἐκέλευσεν, εἴ τι ἔχοι, βοηθεῖν. ἦν δὲ ἄρα Δημοκήδης[1] ὁ Κροτωνιάτης, ὅσπερ ἄριστος ἐδόκει τῶν τότε ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἰατρῶν· ὃς καὶ παραχρῆμα μὲν καθυπνῶσαι αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν, εἶτα καταπλάττων καὶ καταιονῶν καὶ τἄλλα ἐπιμεληθεὶς ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ὑγιῆ ἀπέδειξεν. κελεύσαντος δὲ Δαρείου λαβεῖν ὅ τι βούλεται, τοὺς ἰατροὺς παρῃτήσατο ἀφεῖναι αὐτόν. καὶ μέντοι ἀφείθησαν, ἐκείνου δεηθέντος. πότερον οὖν τότε ἐφθόνουν τῷ Δημοκήδει[2] καὶ ἐχθρὸν ἡγοῦντο, ἤ φησιν Ἡσίοδος ἐπὶ τῶν κεραμέων ἢ τεκτόνων, λυσιτελεῖν νομίζοντες αὐτοῖς εἰ μηδεὶς ἄλλος ἰατρὸς ἐφάνη

[1] Δημοκήδης Dindorf: δημοδόκης or δημόδοκος.

one does make his appearance, is the physician likely, as Hesiod puts it, to rage and to regard as an enemy his own saviour and the saviour of those dearest to him?

Again, suppose there should occur some such thing as once befell the Egyptian physicians. You see, they tried to cure Darius the Persian—for in falling from his horse his ankle bone happened to slip out of place—and they were unable by means of their own art to correct the injury, but, instead, they brought upon him insomnia and awful pains by pulling the joint and trying to force it into place. So Darius gave orders to keep these men in prison, intending that they should be tortured to death. But learning that among his captives there was a certain Greek who endeavoured to heal people, summoning him in desperation he ordered him to help him if he could. Now the man was Democedes of Croton, who was considered the ablest of the Greek physicians of that day. And he did immediately cause him to fall asleep, and then by means of poultices and fomentations and so forth within a few days he made him sound and well. But when Darius bade him take as reward anything he pleased, he besought him to release the physicians. And, indeed, they were released, because Democedes had requested it.[1] Now I ask you whether in such circumstances they were jealous of Democedes and regarded him as an enemy, as Hesiod says is true with the potters or the joiners, because they believed it to be to their advantage if no other physician turned up and cured

[1] For a fuller narrative of this episode, see Herodotus 3. 125 and 129-132.

[2] Δημοκήδει Dindorf: Δημοδόκῳ.

βασιλέα ἰασάμενος, ἢ σφόδρα ἠγάπων καὶ χάριν ᾔδεσαν;

Εἰκὸς μὲν ἦν χάριν εἰδέναι.

12 Δ. Καὶ μὴν θωρακοποιοί εἰσιν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ κρανοποιοὶ καὶ τειχοποιοὶ καὶ δορυξόοι καὶ ἕτεροι πλείους· εἰ οὖν τούτοις λυσιτελεῖ ἕνα ἕκαστον ἐν ἑκάστῃ τῶν πόλεων εἶναι τῆς τέχνης δημιουργὸν μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἱκανοὺς ἡδέως ἔγωγ' ἂν πυθοίμην. δῆλον γὰρ ὡς πολεμίων ἐπιόντων, καὶ μήτε τῶν τειχῶν ἑστηκότων μήτε ὡπλισμένων ἁπάντων, ἀναγκάζοιντ' ἂν ἄνοπλοι καὶ ἀτείχιστοι
13 διακινδυνεύειν. ὥστε ἁλούσης τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἂν ἴσως οὗτοί γε ἀποθάνοιεν, ληφθέντες δὲ καὶ δεθέντες προῖκα ἂν ἐργάζοιντο τοῖς πολεμίοις πρὸς ἀνάγκην, ἀνθ' ὧν πρότερον θρυπτόμενοι πολλῆς τιμῆς ἀπεδίδοντο τούς τε θώρακας καὶ τὰ κράνη καὶ τὰ δόρατα, καὶ γνοῖεν ἂν ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθῶς οὐδ' ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ ἐφθόνει καὶ ἐμήνιε διὰ τὴν τέχνην οὔτε χαλκεὺς χαλκεῖ οὔτε τέκτονι τέκτων, οὐδὲ λῷόν τε καὶ ἄμεινον ἦν αὐτῷ μόνον[1] ἢ σὺν ὀλίγοις εἶναι τῆς τέχνης ἐργάτην.[2]

14 Ἀλλὰ δὴ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις σχεδὸν οὐκ ἀεὶ βέλτιον ὅ φησι[3] βούλεσθαι αὐτοὺς Ἡσίοδος, μόνοις δὲ τοῖς κεραμεῦσι καὶ μαγείροις τε καὶ βαφεῦσι καὶ πορνοβοσκοῖς. οὐκοῦν ἡ ζηλοτυπία καὶ ὁ φθόνος καὶ τὸ μηδένα ἄλλον ἐθέλειν πράττειν τὸ αὐτὸ ἔργον μαγειρικόν τε καὶ βαφικὸν καὶ κεραμευτικὸν καὶ ἔτι[4] μᾶλλον πορνοβοσκοῖς προσῆκον ἤπερ

[1] μόνον] μόνῳ Pflugk.

[2] ἐργάτην Emperius : ἐργάταις.

[3] βέλτιον, ὅ φησι Arnim, βέλτιον ὥς φησι Selden : βελτίους φησὶ (φήσει).

[4] ἔτι deleted by Arnim.

the king, or whether they felt a strong affection for Democedes and were grateful to him.

*Int.* It would be reasonable to suppose they were grateful.

*Dio.* Again, there are corselet-makers in the cities and helmet-makers and wall-builders and spear-polishers and many others ; whether, therefore, it is to their advantage that only one in each city should be a worker at each craft rather than a considerable number is a matter I would gladly learn. For it is clear that, if enemies attack at a time when the walls have not been completed and not all the citizens have been equipped with arms, then they would be forced to hazard all without arms and walls. Therefore, if the city were taken, though possibly these craftsmen might escape with their lives, still, taken captive and in chains, they would work for the foe without pay and at forced labour, all because previously they had lived pampered lives and sold their corselets and helmets and spears at an excessive price, and they would recognize that it was not right nor for their own good for a craftsman to be jealous or angry because of his craft, whether it was blacksmith against blacksmith or joiner against joiner, and that it was not more profitable or better for him to be the only worker at his craft than to have a few fellow workers.

Well then, for the others, I dare say, what Hesiod says they desire is not always preferable, but only for the potters and butchers and dyers and brothel-keepers. Then jealousy and envy and the desire that no one else shall ply the same trade, whether it be that of the butcher or the dyer or the potter, are even still more suitable for the brothel-keepers

ἰατροῖς τε καὶ κυβερνήταις ἢ ἄλλο τι σπουδαιότερον πράττουσιν.

Εἶεν. ἀλλ' εἰ κυβερνήταις τε καὶ ἰατροῖς καὶ οἷς νῦν δὴ ἐλέγομεν οὐ βέλτιον ἐν σπάνει τῶν ὁμοτέχνων ζῆν, ἦπου τοῖς γε φρονίμοις καὶ σοφοῖς ἀνδράσι λῷόν τε καὶ ἄμεινον ὁρᾶσθαι μόνοις;

Οὐδαμῶς.[1]

15 Δ. Ὅτι πρὸς τῷ μεγαλόφρων τε εἶναι καὶ ἄλυπος ὁ νοῦν ἔχων καὶ φιλάνθρωπος, καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπίστασθαι συμφέρουσαν αὑτῷ, τήν τε αὑτοῦ καὶ τὴν τῶν πέλας, καὶ μηδέποτε ἂν ὑπὲρ τούτων μηδένα μηδὲ τῶν φαυλοτέρων ἄλλον ἄλλῳ φθονεῖν,[2] ἃ κοινὰ ὑπάρχει πᾶσιν ἀγαθά· πρὸς τούτοις πᾶσιν οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐφ' οἷς ὅ τε φθόνος γίγνεται καὶ τὸ βασκαίνειν ἀλλήλοις τοὺς πολλούς, οὔτε θαυμάζει τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν οὔτε ἄξιον σπουδῆς νενόμικεν, οἷον δὴ χθὲς περὶ πλούτου ἐλέγομεν.

16 ὥστε οὐδ' ἂν φθονήσειεν οὐδενὶ χρυσοῦ ἢ ἀργύρου ἢ βοσκημάτων ἢ οἰκίας ἢ ἄλλου τῶν τοιούτων, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐλέγομεν· ὥς φησιν ἕτερος ποιητής, οὐχ αὑτοῦ γνώμην ἀποφαινόμενος, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐξηγούμενος δόξαν·

οἷσίν τ' εὖ ζώουσι καὶ ἀφνειοὶ καλέονται·

ὡς μόνον καλουμένων αὐτῶν ἀφνειῶν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ὄντων κατ' ἀλήθειαν.

17 Εἶεν· οὐκοῦν χρημάτων μὲν κρείττων ὁ γενναῖος καὶ τέλειος ἀνὴρ ἡμῖν δοκεῖ· περὶ δὲ δόξης τυχὸν

[1] What follows is found only in UBM and is preceded by the heading περὶ φθόνου β or περὶ φθόνου. See Introduction.
[2] φθονεῖν Wyttenbach : φρονεῖν.

[1] *Odyssey* 17. 423.

than for physicians and pilots or for those who are engaged in any other more serious pursuit.

Very good. But if for pilots and physicians and those just mentioned it is not better to live where there is a shortage of their fellow craftsmen, can it be that for men of prudence and wisdom it is better and more profitable to find themselves without associates ?

*Int.* By no means.

*Dio.* Yes, because with the man of intelligence and benevolence, in addition to his being magnanimous and inoffensive, in addition to his knowing that virtue is beneficial to him, both his own virtue and that of his neighbours, and in addition to the unlikelihood that any one, even of the commoner sort, would ever be jealous one toward another regarding these things which are the common blessings of all mankind—in addition, I say, to all this, of the other things which are the occasion of envy and reciprocal ill-will among the masses, not only does he not admire a single one, but he does not consider any to deserve serious regard, just as yesterday we were saying with reference to wealth. Consequently, neither would he envy any one gold or silver or cattle or house or any other thing such as we were speaking of—as another poet says, not expressing his own private sentiment but expounding the opinion of mankind,

> The things whereby men live at ease and gain
> The epithet of affluent,[1]

his idea being that they merely are called affluent, but are not truly so.

Very well ; then, we are agreed, the high-minded, perfect man is above material wealth ; but in the

ἐρίζοι ἂν[1] καὶ φθονοῖ οὓς ἂν τιμωμένους μᾶλλον παρὰ τῷ πλήθει βλέπῃ καὶ μειζόνων ἐπαίνων τυγχάνοντας; ἢ οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν φήσομεν ὡς ἔστιν ἡ δόξα ὁ παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἔπαινος· εἰ δὲ τῶν πολλῶν, δῆλον ὅτι τῶν οὐκ εἰδότων;

Οὐδαμῶς τοῦτό γε εἰκὸς αὐτὸν ἀγνοεῖν.

18 Δ. Φέρε οὐκοῦν[2] δοκεῖ σοι ἀγαθὸς αὐλητὴς ἥδεσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ τέχνῃ καὶ μέγα φρονεῖν ὑπὸ ἀμούσων καὶ ἀτέχνων ἐπαινούμενος, κἂν εἰ περιστάντες αὐτὸν παῖδες συφορβοὶ καὶ ποιμένες θαυμάζοιεν καὶ κροτοῖεν, ἐπαίρεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ καὶ τοῦ[3] παντὸς ἄξιον ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν παρ' ἐκείνων ἔπαινον; ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐδήλωσεν ὁ Θηβαῖος αὐλητὴς οὔτε[4] τῷ θεάτρῳ πάνυ προσέχων τὸν νοῦν οὔτε[5] τοῖς κριταῖς ἀπείροις οὖσιν αὐλήσεως, καὶ ταῦτα περὶ ἄθλου καὶ νίκης ἀγωνιζόμενος· ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδὲ μικρὸν ἐκβῆναι τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ τοῦ πρέποντος ἐτόλμησεν, αὑτῷ δὲ καὶ ταῖς Μούσαις αὐλεῖν ἔφη.

19 τί οὖν; οἴει τὸν Ὀρφέα, τὸν τῆς Μούσης υἱόν, εἰ ἀληθὴς ὁ κατ' αὐτὸν μῦθος, μᾶλλον ἂν χαίρειν τῶν ὀρνίθων καταπετομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν ᾄδοντα καὶ τῶν θηρίων κηλουμένων ὑπὸ τῆς φωνῆς καὶ παρεστηκότων πρᾴως καὶ ἀθορύβως ὁπότε ἄρξαιτο μελῳδεῖν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν δένδρων προσιόντων ἅμα τῷ καρπῷ τε καὶ ἄνθει, καὶ τῶν λίθων κινουμένων καὶ ξυνιόντων, ὥστε μεγάλα ἕρματα ἀθροίζεσθαι λίθων πλησίον αὐτοῦ, μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τούτοις γιγνομένοις ὁρῶντα τέρπεσθαι καὶ μεγαλαυχεῖσθαι,

[1] ἐρίζοι ἂν Emperius : ἐριζοίαν M, ἐρίζοι UB.
[2] οὐκοῦν] οὖν Arnim.
[3] τοῦ Reiske : τοῦτο M, τούτῳ UB.
[4] οὔτε Crosby : οὐδὲ.
[5] οὔτε Crosby : οὐδὲ.

matter of reputation would he perhaps quarrel with and envy those whom he sees more highly honoured by the crowd and winning greater plaudits? Or shall we say that he is not unaware that fame is the praise bestowed by the masses; but if the masses, evidently the unintelligent?

*Int.* By no means is it likely that he is ignorant of that.

*Dio.* Well then, do you believe that a good flautist takes pleasure in his skill and is proud when praised by unmusical and unskilled persons, and that, if youthful swineherds and shepherds crowding around him express their admiration and applaud him, he is elated over this thing itself and feels that praise from those persons is worth everything? Why, the Theban flautist made it plain that he did not pay very much attention either to the audience in the theatre or to the judges, inexperienced in flute-playing as they were—and that, too, although he was contending for a prize and victory—but for all that, he did not venture to depart even slightly from the proper rhythm, but he said that he was piping for himself and the Muses. What then! Do you suppose that Orpheus, the son of the Muse—if the tale about him is true—would rejoice more when the birds flew down to him as he sang and the wild beasts were entranced by his voice and stood by tamely and quietly every time he began to make melody, and when, moreover, the trees came toward him with their fruit and flowers, and when the stones moved and came together, so that great cairns of stones were collected near him—do you suppose, I say, that at the sight of these doings he was delighted and proud, believing that he had reached

νομίζοντα τῆς μουσικῆς ἥκειν ἐπ' ἄκρον, ἢ εἴπερ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτὸν ἡ Καλλιόπη κιθαρίζοντα ἐπῄνεσέ τε καὶ εἶπε καταψήσασα ἅμα τὴν κεφαλήν, ὡς ἱκανῶς ἔχοι μουσικῆς καὶ σοφώτατος εἴη τὰ τῆς
20 τέχνης; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ Φιλάμμωνος αὐτὸν ἐθέλειν ἐπαινεθῆναι περὶ μουσικὴν ἢ εἴ τις ἦν τῶν τότε ἔμπειρος κιθαρῳδίας ἢ ξυμπάντων ἁπλῶς τῶν θηρίων τε καὶ ὀρνέων· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν κύκνων ἐπιβοώντων καὶ συμφθεγγομένων[1] φροντίσαι ἂν οὐδέν, ὅτι οὐκ εἶχον τέχνην οὐδὲ ἐπιστήμην περὶ τὸ μελῳδεῖν.

Εἶεν· τί δέ; ὑγιείας μάρτυρα καὶ ἐπαινέτην βούλοιτ' ἂν ὁ νοῦν ἔχων ἀνὴρ ἕνα λαβεῖν, ὅστις ἰατρικὸς καὶ περὶ σώματος θεραπείας ἔμπειρος, ἢ πολλὰς μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲν ἐπαϊόντων, οἵ, ἂν[2] οὕτω τύχῃ, πεπρημένον ὁρῶντες αὐτὸν ὑπὸ νόσου καὶ οἰδοῦντα καὶ ὕπουλον, μακαρίζοιεν ὡς Πουλυδάμαντα τὸν Θετταλὸν καὶ Γλαῦκον τὸν
21 Καρύστιον ἡγούμενοι διαφέρειν εὐεξίᾳ; ἀλλὰ εἰς μὲν αὔλησιν καὶ κιθαρῳδίαν καὶ τὸ[3] περιεῖναι παλαίοντα ἢ πυκτεύοντα τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων[4] ὁ τῶν ἐπισταμένων ἔπαινος ἥδιστος τοῖς εἰδόσι καὶ πλείστης σπουδῆς ἄξιος· εἰς δὲ φρόνησιν καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ ξύμπασαν ἀρετὴν ἱκανὸς εὐφρᾶναι τὸν νοῦν

[1] συμφθεγγομένων Selden : συμφθειρομένων.
[2] οἵ, ἂν Casaubon : οἳ ἂν M, ᾧ ἂν U, ὦ ἂν B.
[3] τὸ added by Reiske.
[4] After ἁπάντων Morel deletes οὐδαμῶς.

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[1] Father of Thamyris and contemporary with Orpheus,

the pinnacle of musical success, more than if his mother Calliopê had praised his playing the cithara and had stroked his head and said that he was fairly competent in music and very skilful in the fine points of his art? I fancy he would rather be praised by Philammon [1] for musical skill or by any one then living who was acquainted with the art of singing to the cithara, than by absolutely all the beasts and birds together; nay, even if the swans had uttered cries of praise and had accompanied him with their notes, he would not have given them a moment's notice, because they did not possess skill, or even knowledge, about the art of making melody.

Very good; what then? In the matter of health would the man of sound judgement desire to win the testimony and commendation of a single individual who is a skilled physician and conversant with care of the body, or, instead, that of countless thousands who have no understanding, who, as likely as not, on seeing him bloated with disease and swollen and ulcerous, would congratulate him as they would Pulydamas the Thessalian and Glaucus the Carystian,[2] supposing him to be in prime condition? Well, if as regards flute-playing and singing to the cithara and pre-eminence as a wrestler or a boxer the praise of experts above all others is sweetest to the ears of connoisseurs and worth the most serious attention, as regards wisdom and justice and virtue as a whole

said to have won a prize for singing at the Pythian Games; cf. Pausanias 10. 7. 2.

[2] Both were unusually tall and strong and both had statues at Olympia, Pulydamas having won in wrestling in 408 B.C. and Glaucus in boxing in 480 B.C.; cf. Pausanias 6. 5 and 6. 10. 1. Greek athletes were commonly of heavy build.

ἔχοντα καὶ ἀποπληρῶσαι τὴν διάνοιαν ὁ[1] τῶν ἠλιθίων καὶ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων;

Οὐδαμῶς.[2]

22 Δ. Καὶ πότερον οἴει τὸν ἔμπειρον τῆς τεκτονικῆς τέχνης, εὐθύ τι ἐργάσασθαι βουλόμενον, ἑνὶ προσαρμόσαντα κανόνι καὶ μιᾷ στάθμῃ σταθμησάμενον ἥδιον ἔχειν καὶ πεποιθέναι περὶ τῆς ὀρθότητος μᾶλλον ἢ πολλοῖς τε καὶ ἀνωμάλοις ξύλοις ἀπευθύνοντα καὶ καταμετροῦντα;

Φέρε πρὸς Διός, ἆρα ἀκήκοας ζωγράφου χαρίεντος ἔργον γραφήν τινα προθέντος εἰς τὸ φανερὸν
23 ἵππου, θαυμαστήν τε καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἔχουσαν; φασὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν κελεῦσαι παραφυλάττειν τὸν παῖδα τοὺς ὁρῶντας, εἰ ψέγοιεν ἢ ἐπαινοῖεν, καὶ μνημονεύσαντα ἀπαγγεῖλαι πρὸς αὐτόν. τῶν δὲ ἕκαστον ἄλλον ἄλλο τι λέγειν περὶ τῆς γραφῆς καὶ αἰτιᾶσθαι, τὸν μέν τινα, οἶμαι, τὴν κεφαλήν, τὸν δὲ τὰ ἰσχία, τὸν δὲ περὶ τῶν σκελῶν, ὡς, εἰ τοιαῦτα ἐγεγόνει, πολὺ κάλλιον ἂν εἶχεν. ἀκούσαντα δὲ τὸν γραφέα τοῦ παιδός, ἐργασάμενον ἄλλην γραφὴν κατὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν δόξαν καὶ ἐπίνοιαν, κελεῦσαι θεῖναι παρὰ τὴν πρότερον. εἶναι οὖν πολὺ τὸ διαφέρον· τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀκριβέστατα ἔχειν, τὴν δὲ αἴσχιστα καὶ γελοιότατα καὶ πᾶσι μᾶλλον ἢ ἵππῳ ἐοικέναι.
24 Δῆλον οὖν ὡς εἰ σφόδρα προσδεήσεται τοῦ παρὰ

[1] ὁ added by Reiske.
[2] Οὐδαμῶς added by Reiske.

is the praise of fools and nobodies sufficient to cheer the heart of the man of sense and to satisfy his intelligence ?

*Int.* By no means.

*Dio.* Again, do you think that he who is acquainted with the joiner's art, when he wants a piece of furniture to be made true and straight, after he has fitted his work together by applying one straight-edge and one gauge is happier and more confident of the accuracy of his work than if he had done the adjusting and the measuring with several different and uneven strips of wood ?

By Heaven, have you heard about the doings of an accomplished painter who had exhibited in public a painting of a horse, a wonderful work of art and true to life ? They say, you remember, that he ordered his servant to observe those who looked at it, to see if they found fault with it or praised it, and to remember what they said and report back to him. The story goes on to relate that every man of them had something different to say about the painting and criticized it, one, I imagine, finding fault with the head, another with the haunches, another with the legs, to the effect that, if these parts had been done so and so, the work would be much better. And when the painter heard what his servant had to report, he made another painting, which conformed with the judgement and conception of the crowd, and he gave orders to place it beside the earlier one. Now the difference between the two was great ; for the one was quite true to life, while the other was extremely ugly and ludicrous and resembled anything at all rather than a horse.

Clearly, therefore, if a person is going to be ex-

τῶν πολλῶν ἐπαίνου, τῆς αὑτοῦ[1] γνώμης ἡγούμενος κυριώτερον τὸν ἐκείνων ψόγον τε καὶ ἔπαινον, οὕτως ἕκαστα πράξει καὶ προθυμήσεται τοιοῦτον παρέχειν ἑαυτὸν ὁποῖον ἀξιοῦσιν οἱ πολλοί. καὶ δῆλον ὅτι ἔσται ταχὺ μάλα ἐοικὼς ἀντ᾽ ἐκείνου τοῦ πρότερον ἵππου, τοῦ φαύλως καὶ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἑνὸς εἰργασμένου τέχνην, τῷ θαυμαστῷ καὶ πολυτέχνῳ δημιουργήματι, μηδὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ἀρέσκοντι τοὺς δημιουργούς, ὑπὸ τῆς ἁπάντων ἐπινοίας καὶ δημιουργίας συγκειμένῳ.

25 Καθάπερ ὁ μῦθός φησι τὴν Πανδώραν οὐχ ὑφ᾽ ἑνὸς τῶν θεῶν πεπλασμένην, ἀλλὰ κοινῇ ὑπὸ πάντων, ἄλλο ἄλλου δωρουμένου καὶ προστιθέντος, οὐδαμῶς σοφὸν οὐδ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθῷ τὸ πλάσμα γενόμενον, παντοδαπὸν δὲ καὶ ποικίλον τοῖς λαβοῦσιν ἀποβῆναι κακόν. ὅπου δὲ θεῶν ὄχλος καὶ δῆμος κοινῇ δημιουργῶν καὶ ἐργαζόμενος οὐχ οἷός τε ἐγένετο καλῶς τε καὶ ἀμέμπτως ἐργάσασθαι, τί ἂν φαίη τις τὸν ὑπό γε ἀνθρωπίνης δόξης πλαττόμενον καὶ δημιουργούμενον βίον τε καὶ ἄνδρα; δῆλον οὖν ὡς εἴ τις ἔφυ τῷ ὄντι φρόνιμος, οὐδὲν ἂν προσέχοι τῷ λόγῳ τῶν πολλῶν οὐδὲ θεραπεύοι τὸν παρ᾽ ἐκείνων ἔπαινον ἐξ ἅπαντος, ὥστε[2] οὐδὲ[3] μέγα οὐδὲ τίμιον οὐδὲ ἀγαθόν, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν,

[1] αὑτοῦ Dindorf: αὐτοῦ. [2] ὥστε] ὅς γε Emperius.

ceedingly anxious to win the praise of the crowd as well, believing that its praise or censure has more weight than his own judgement, his every act and wish will be aimed to show himself the sort of person that the crowd expects. And manifestly he will presently be very like, not that first horse, which was executed with sincerity and in harmony with one man's conception of his art, but like that amazing product of multiple workmanship, not pleasing even to those men themselves, its creators, having been put together by the conception and workmanship of all the world!

Just so the myth says of Pandora, that she was fashioned, not by a single one among the gods, but jointly by them all, one contributing one gift and adding it to the whole, another another, the form thus fashioned proving to be by no means wise or destined for a good end either, but, as it turned out, a heterogeneous and complicated plague to those who got her.[1] But when a multitude of gods, yes, a democratic rabble, jointly creating and labouring at their task, proved unable by all their labour to turn out an excellent and faultless work, what would one say of that which is fashioned and created by human opinion, be it a way of life or a man? Evidently, then, if one is by nature really prudent, he would pay no heed at all to the talk of the masses, nor would he court their praise by any and every means, and consequently he will never regard this praise as

[1] The famous story of Pandora occurs first in Hesiod, *Theogony* 570-602 and *Works and Days* 54-89. She proved a plague first of all to Epimetheus and then, through him, to mankind in general.

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[3] οὐδὲ] οὐδὲν Gasda.

τοῦτό[1] ποτε ἡγήσεται. μὴ νομίζων δὲ ἀγαθὸν βασκαίνειν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοῖς ἔχουσιν ἀδύνατος.[2]

26 Οὔκουν τοιοῦτος ἡμῖν ὁ γενναῖος καὶ σώφρων καὶ κεκολασμένος ἀνήρ, πλούτους τε καὶ ἐπαίνους καὶ στεφάνους Ὀλυμπικούς τε καὶ Πυθικοὺς καὶ γράμματα ἐν στήλαις καὶ μαρτυρίας ἐγγράφους δήμων καὶ βασιλέων διώκων, ὅπως ἂν ᾖ περίβλεπτος καὶ φανερός, ἀλλ' εὐσταλής τε καὶ ἄτυφος ὡς οἷόν τε χωρῶν διὰ τοῦ βίου, ταπεινὸς καὶ κεκολασμένος αὐτὸς ὑφ' αὑτοῦ[3] καὶ τῆς αὑτοῦ[4] διανοίας, οὐθενὸς ἔξωθεν κόσμου προσδεόμενος οὐδὲ ἐπιθέτου τιμῆς οὐδὲ φαλάρων καὶ πτερῶν, ὥσπερ οἱ κακοὶ μισθοφόροι πτερὰ καὶ λόφους ἀναλαβόντες καὶ Γοργόνας ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων καὶ τοῖς δορατίοις ψοφοῦντες ἔπειτα φεύγουσιν, εἰ μικρὸς καταλάβοι κίνδυνος.

27 Οἵους πολλοὺς ἰδεῖν ἔστι τῶν οἰομένων εἶναι μακαρίων, ξεναγούς τινας καὶ δημαγωγοὺς καὶ σοφιστάς, ἐν θεάτροις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς μαθηταῖς καὶ κατὰ σκηνὰς ἐντὸς στρατοπέδου μεγαλαυχουμένους, ὅταν τύχωσιν ὑποπιόντες[5] τῆς μεσημβρίας,

> Τρώων ἀνθ' ἑκατόν τε διηκοσίων τε ἕκαστος
> στήσεσθαι·

τοὺς δὲ αὐτοὺς τούτους ἑνὸς ἀνθρώπου κατατρέ-

[1] τοῦτό] τοῦτόν Emperius.
[2] ἀδύνατος Emperius : ἀδύνατον.
[3] ὑφ' αὑτοῦ Dindorf : ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.
[4] αὑτοῦ Dindorf : αὐτοῦ.
[5] ὑποπιόντες Emperius : ὑποπίνοντες.

important or valuable or, if I may say so, good. But not regarding it as a good, he will be incapable of viewing with malice on that account those who have it.

Accordingly, so high-minded, sane, and chastened a man as the one we have in mind is not the sort that chases after riches and praise and Olympic or Pythian crowns, nor after letters carved on tablets of stone and written testimonials of communities and kings, with a view to being universally admired and conspicuous; instead, he journeys through life without ostentation and free from arrogance, so far as possible, humble and chastened by himself and by his own conscience, having no need of any extraneous adornment or adventitious honour, nor of trappings and plumes, like your cowardly hireling soldiers, who affect plumes and crests and Gorgons on their shields, who rattle their little lances and then take to their heels if some trifling danger overtakes them.

Persons of this description are to be seen in large numbers among the would-be great—*condottieri* of a sort, popular leaders, and sophists, in theatres or before their pupils or among the tents inside a camp, uttering loud boasts on occasions when they chance to be tipsy at mid-day,[1]

> That each will be a match for one, yes, two
> Full companies of Trojan men [2];

yet these same persons, if a single human being runs

[1] It was not thought respectable to begin drinking so early in the day.

[2] *Iliad* 8. 233-234. Agamemnon upbraids his forces for cowardice in the face of Hector. More of the passage might well have been quoted, for it deals with boasting after immoderate eating and drinking.

χοντος καὶ διώκοντος προτροπάδην φεύγοντας, ξύμπαντας οὐ φαινομένους ἐκείνου γ'[1] ἀξίους.

28 Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἂν[2] ἡδονάς τινας, σίτων ἢ ποτῶν ἢ ἀφροδισίων, ἢ γυναικὸς κάλλος ἢ παιδὸς ὥραν τεθαυμακὼς καὶ τούτων ἐπιθυμῶν καὶ μεγάλα ἡγούμενος, εὐδαιμονίζοι τοὺς τυγχάνοντας αὐτῶν, σατράπας καὶ δυνάστας καὶ νὴ Δία βαναύσους τινὰς καὶ οἰκότριβας πεπλουτηκότας, τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης, τοὺς δὲ τὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν ὑφαιρουμένους· αὑτὸν δὲ οἰκτείροι τῆς ἀπορίας τε καὶ ἐρημίας τούτων τῶν ἀγαθῶν[3] καὶ ἡγοῖτο οὐ τῶν εὐτυχῶν· διὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐκείνοις[4] φθονοῖ καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοι πάντα τρόπον καὶ εὔχοιτ' ἂν ἀπολέσθαι αὐτούς.

29 Ἦ καὶ συγχωρήσωμεν τὸν γενναῖον ἄνδρα καὶ μεγαλόφρονα τὸ τῶν κυνῶν τε καὶ ἵππων καὶ ἄλλων θηρίων πεπονθέναι πάθος, ἃ οὐ δύναται κατέχειν ἑτέρων ἐμπιμπλαμένων τε καὶ ὀχευόντων, ἀλλὰ χαλεπαίνει καὶ ἀγανακτεῖ καὶ ὀργίζεται τοῖς ἀπολαύουσι καὶ ἕτοιμα ἐπιπηδᾶν καὶ δάκνειν καὶ κυρίττειν καὶ πάντα τρόπον ἀλλήλοις πολεμεῖν ἐστι[5] περὶ τῶν ἡδονῶν· κἀκεῖνον[6] οὕτως ἔχειν φῶμεν, ὡς ὁμολογοῦντα τούτων εἶναί τι σπουδαῖον καὶ τὸν Σαρδανάπαλον ἡγούμενον ζηλωτόν, ὃς ἔφη διατελέσαι τὸν βίον εὐωχούμενός τε καὶ ὑβρίζων μετὰ εὐνούχων καὶ γυναικῶν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ζηλο-

[1] ἐκείνου γ' Post, ἐκείνου Casaubon : ἐκείνους.
[2] ἂν added by Post.
[3] ἀγαθῶν Geel : ἀνθρώπων.
[4] ἐκείνοις Casaubon : ἐκεῖνος.
[5] ἐστι Reiske : ἔτι.
[6] κἀκεῖνον Casaubon : κἀκεῖνο.

at them and offers to give chase, will be seen to flee in utter rout, the pack of them not showing themselves a match for that lone man.

Nay more ; as for certain pleasures of food or drink or fornication, or as for a woman's beauty or the bloom of a boy, he would not, through having become infatuated with these things and lusting after them and counting them important, deem fortunate those who get them—satraps and princes and, forsooth, vulgarians and flunkies who have become wealthy, the former by the practice of their craft, the latter by filching their masters' property—nor would he pity himself for his poverty and for his lack of these good things and look upon himself as not one of the fortunate class ; nor would he on this account envy the persons whom I have named, plot against them in every way, and pray for their ruin.

Or shall we go so far as to acknowledge that our noble, our magnanimous man is in no better case than dogs and horses and the other beasts, which cannot contain themselves when the other beasts are stuffing their bellies or copulating, but are resentful and indignant and enraged against those which are enjoying themselves, and are ready to pounce upon and bite and butt and to wage all manner of warfare against each other for the enjoyment of these pleasures ; shall we say that he too is in that condition, as though admitting that any of these pleasures is of real importance, and that he regards Sardanapalus as one to be envied, who declared that he spent his life in feasting and in playing the wanton with eunuchs and women,[1] and shall we say that on

[1] Strabo (14. 5. 9) reports that such a statement was inscribed on a funeral monument of Sardanapalus.

τυπεῖν αὐτὸν τὴν τῶν τράγων τε καὶ ὄνων εὐδαιμονίαν;

30 Μὴ γὰρ οὐδὲ εὐσεβὲς τὰ τοιαῦτα περὶ τοῦ μετρίου καὶ πεπαιδευμένου διανοηθῆναί ποτε ἀνδρός.

Δ. Οὐκοῦν εἰ μήτε διὰ δόξαν μήτε διὰ χρήματα μήτε δι' ἡδονὰς βρώσεων ἢ πόσεων ἢ μίξεων αὐτὸν ἢ ἄλλον οἴεται μακάριον μηδὲ ὅλως εἶναί τι τῶν τοιούτων περιμάχητον ἢ τίμιον, οὐκ ἂν διαφέροιτο περὶ αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἂν φθονήσειεν οὐδενὶ ἐκείνων, οὐ μᾶλλον[1] ἢ τῆς ψάμμου τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς αἰγιαλοῖς ἢ τῶν κυμάτων τοῦ ψόφου τε καὶ ἤχου
31 τοῖς πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ οἰκοῦσιν· οὐδ' εἴ τῳ χρυσίον αὐτόματον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸν κόλπον ἐμπλήσειεν, ὥσπερ τῇ Δανάῃ δή ποτε λέγουσιν ἐν οἰκήματι χαλκῷ φυλαττομένῃ χρυσίον ἐξαίφνης ἄνωθεν εἰσρυῆναι διὰ τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς, οὐδὲ εἰ χειμάρρους αὐτῷ ποθεν ἐπέλθοι χρυσὸν πολὺν καὶ ἄθρουν καταφέρων, ὥσπερ ἰλύν· καθάπερ, οἶμαί, φασι Κροίσῳ πρότερον τὸν Πακτωλὸν διὰ μέσων ἀφικνούμενον Σάρδεων ἕτοιμα χρήματα κομίζειν, πλείω φόρον τε καὶ δασμὸν ἢ ξύμπασα Φρυγία καὶ Λυδία καὶ[2] Μαίονές τε καὶ Μυσοὶ καὶ ξύμπαντες οἱ νεμόμενοι τὴν ἐντὸς Ἅλυος.

32 Οὐδέ γε τὸν λαβόντα παρὰ Κροίσου τὴν δωρεὰν ἐκείνην[3] Ἀλκμέωνα ἐζήλωσεν οὔτε Σόλων οὔτε ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν τότε σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν, ᾧ φασι τὸν Λυδὸν ἐπιτρέψαι τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἀνοίξαντα φέρειν

[1] οὐ μᾶλλον added by Reiske.
[2] καὶ added by Emperius.
[3] ἐκείνην Crosby : ἐκεῖνον.

this account he envies the happiness of goats and asses?

*Int.* Why, it would perhaps be even impious ever to entertain such thoughts concerning the temperate man of cultivation.

*Dio.* Well then, if neither fame nor wealth nor pleasures of eating or drinking or copulation lead him to regard himself or any one else as fortunate or to suppose that any such thing at all is worth fighting over or valuable, he would not wrangle over them or begrudge any one those things any more than he would begrudge those who dwell near the sea either the sand upon the beaches or the roar and reverberation of the waves; nay, not even if gold of its own accord were to fall from the sky and fill the fold of his garment, just as they say that once upon a time, when Danaë was being closely guarded in a bronze chamber, gold suddenly rained down upon her from above, drawn by her beauty[1]; nay, not even if a torrent were to come from somewhere, sweeping down to him a flood of gold in a mass like mud, as, I believe, it is said that to Croesus in days of old the Pactolus, making its way through the midst of Sardis, brought ready wealth, a larger revenue and tribute than all Phrygia and Lydia, yes, and the Maeonians and Mysians and all who occupy the land this side the Halys River, brought him.[2]

Nay, not even the man who received from Croesus that famous gift did either Solon or any other of the wise men of that day envy, Alcmaeon, whom they say the Lydian allowed to open his treasuries and

[1] Zeus visited Danaë as a shower of gold and begot Perseus.

[2] Cf. Or. 33. 23 and Herodotus 5. 101.

αὐτὸν ὁπόσον βούλεται τοῦ χρυσοῦ. καὶ τοῦτον[1] εἰσελθόντα πάνυ ἀνδρείως ἐμφορήσασθαι τῆς βασιλικῆς δωρεᾶς, χιτῶνά τε ποδήρη καταζωσάμενον καὶ τὸν κόλπον ἐμπλήσαντα γυναικεῖον καὶ βαθὺν καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα ἐξεπίτηδες μεγάλα καὶ κοῖλα ὑποδησάμενον, τέλος δὲ τὴν κόμην διαπάσαντα καὶ τὰ γένεια τῷ ψήγματι καὶ τὸ στόμα ἐμπλήσαντα καὶ τὰς γνάθους ἑκατέρας μόλις ἔξω βαδίζειν, ὥσπερ αὐλοῦντα τὴν τῆς Σεμέλης ὠδῖνα, γέλωτα καὶ θέαν Κροίσῳ παρέχοντα καὶ Λυδοῖς.
33 καὶ ἦν τότε Ἀλκμέων οὐδεμιᾶς ἄξιος δραχμῆς, ὡς εἶχεν ἱστάμενος.

Οὔτε οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὡς ἔφην, ζηλοτυπήσειεν ἄν, οὔτε εἴ τινα βλέποι θαυμαζόμενόν τε καὶ ὑμνούμενον ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων μυρίων ἢ δισμυρίων, εἰ δὲ βούλει,[2] κροτούμενον καὶ ταινιούμενον, κορωνιῶντα καὶ γαυριῶντα, καθάπερ ἵππον ἐπὶ νίκῃ, παραπεμπόμενον ὑπὸ πλειόνων ἢ ὁπόσοι προπέμπουσι τοὺς νυμφίους· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀδοξότερος μὲν εἴη τῶν πτωχῶν, ἐρημότερος δὲ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐρριμμένων, μηδενὸς δὲ ἀξιούμενος παρὰ μηδενὶ λόγου, καθάπερ Μεγαρέας ποτέ φασι, διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι θεραπεύειν μηδὲ πρὸς χάριν ὁμιλεῖν, ἅτε αὐστηρὸς ὢν τὴν φύσιν καὶ ἀληθείας φίλος, οὐδὲν

[1] τοῦτον Crosby : τόν. [2] βούλει Pflugk : βούλεται.

[1] Alcmaeon gave his name to the aristocratic house to which Pericles belonged. This humorous tale of the origin of his great wealth is told with evident relish by Herodotus (6. 125), whom Dio follows closely. Croesus was repaying Alcmaeon for his kindness to Lydian envoys who consulted the oracle at Delphi.

carry off on his own person as much of the gold as he wished.[1] And yet, so the story runs, he entered in and set to work right manfully to load himself with the king's bounty, girding about him a long, trailing tunic and filling its womanish, deep fold and the huge, capacious boots which he had put on for that express purpose and finally, after sprinkling the gold dust in his hair and beard and stuffing with it his cheeks and mouth, with difficulty he came walking out, the very image of a piper piping the birth-pangs of Semelê,[2] thereby presenting a ludicrous spectacle for Croesus and his Lydians. Moreover, at that moment Alcmaeon was not worth a single drachma, standing there in that condition.

So, as I was saying, our man of prudence would not be moved to envy, either by these things or if he were to see a man admired and extolled by ten or twenty thousand human beings, or, if you please, applauded and bedecked with ribbons, arching his neck and prancing like a horse exulting in a victory, escorted by more people than the crowds which escort a bride and groom ; on the contrary, he might himself be more inglorious than the beggars, more destitute than the wretches who lie prostrate in the streets, held worthy of no consideration at all by anybody—just as they say was true of the Megarians once on a time [3]—because of his inability to court favour or to be agreeable in converse, being austere by nature and a friend of truth, making no secret

[2] The story of Semelê, the Theban princess who died in giving birth to the god Dionysus, occurred often in Greek tragedy, but Dio's piper may well have performed in a Semelê pantomime.

[3] Athenians spoke of the boorishness of Megarians, just as they did of Boeotians.

ἀποκρυπτόμενος· οὐδὲ οὕτως πείσεται τὸ τῶν κεραμέων τε καὶ τεκτόνων καὶ ἀοιδῶν οὐδὲ[1] καμφθήσεταί ποτε δι' ἔνδειαν ἢ δι' ἀτιμίαν οὐδὲ μεταβαλεῖ τὸν αὑτοῦ τρόπον, κόλαξ καὶ γόης ἀντὶ γενναίου καὶ ἀληθοῦς φανείς.

34 Καίτοι τί ποτε βούλονται τῶν μακαρίων τινὲς θεραπεύεσθαι πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἐλευθέρων εἶναι φασκόντων καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους φιλοσόφους ἐπὶ θύραις αὑτῶν[2] ὁρᾶσθαι ταπεινοὺς καὶ ἀτίμους, καὶ νὴ Δία[3] καθάπερ ἡ Κίρκη ἐβούλετο τὴν οἴκησιν αὑτῆς φυλάττεσθαι ὑπὸ λεόντων δειλῶν καὶ κατεπτηχότων; οὔκουν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι λέοντες ὄντες ἐφύλαττον αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ δύστηνοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἀνόητοι, διεφθαρμένοι διὰ τρυφὴν καὶ ἀργίαν.
35 οὐκοῦν ὅταν ἴδῃ τις τῶν φιλοσόφων τινὰ καλουμένων περὶ τὰς αὐλὰς καὶ πρόθυρα σαίνοντα καὶ ταπεινὸν ἐκείνων, ἄξιον ἀναμνησθῆναι τῶν λεόντων, κυσὶν ὁμοίων πεινῶσι καὶ δειλοῖς, ὠρυομένων ὀξύτατον, ἅτε ὑπὸ φαρμάκων διεφθαρμένων.

Ἀλλὰ δή ἐστιν οὐκ οἶδ' ὁποῖόν τι ἡ τοιαύτη ἐπιθυμία. μυρίοι μὲν γάρ εἰσιν οἳ ἑκόντες καὶ πάνυ προθύμως θεραπεύουσι τοὺς πλουσίους καὶ δυνατοὺς καὶ μεστὰ πάντα κολάκων ἐστὶ καὶ μετ'
36 ἐμπειρίας καὶ τέχνης αὐτὸ πραττόντων. ὥστε οὐκ ἀπορίᾳ τοῦδε τοῦ χρήματος ζητοῦσι παρὰ τῶν εὖ[4] πεφυκότων, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅμοιον τοῦτο ἑτέρῳ ἐπι-

[1] οὐδὲ Arnim : οὐ. [2] αὑτῶν Dindorf : αὐτῶν.
[3] καὶ νὴ Δία Emperius, καὶ Reiske : καὶ μή.
[4] εὖ] οὐ Emperius.

of his thoughts ; still, not even so will he behave like the potters and joiners and bards,[1] nor will he ever be warped through want or dishonour or change his own character, becoming a toady and cheat instead of noble and truthful.

And yet why on earth do some of the prosperous wish to be courted by persons who claim to be free men, and why do they wish the so-called philosophers to be seen at their doors, humble and unhonoured, just as, so help me, Circê wished her dwelling to be guarded by lions that were timid and cringing ?[2] Nay, it was not even real lions that guarded her, but wretched, foolish human beings, who had been corrupted by luxury and idleness.[3] Therefore, whenever any one beholds one of the so-called philosophers fawning about the courtyards and vestibules and grovelling, it is fitting to recall those lions of Circê's, which resembled hungry, cowardly curs, howling most shrilly, since they had been perverted by sorcery.[4]

Nay, to such a desire as I have mentioned I know not what name to give. For there are thousands who willingly, yes, very eagerly, cultivate the rich and influential, and all the world is full of flatterers, who ply that calling with both experience and skill. Therefore it is not for lack of this line of goods that men seek to obtain it from persons of good breeding : rather this is like another enterprise of the very

[1] Here for the first time Dio includes the bards, who are coupled by Hesiod with the potters, joiners, and beggars, *Works and Days* 26.

[2] Cf. *Odyssey* 10. 212-219.

[3] An instance of the allegorical interpretation of Homer that was growing in popularity.

[4] *Odyssey* 10. 212-219. Homer mentions also wolves, and he says nothing of the howling.

χειρήματι τῶν σφόδρα ἀκολάστων, οἱ γυναικῶν ἀφθόνων οὐσῶν δι' ὕβριν καὶ παρανομίαν ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρῶν γυναῖκας σφίσι γενέσθαι καὶ λαβόντες παῖδας ἐξέτεμον. ὅθεν πολὺ κάκιον καὶ δυστυχέστερον γένος[1] ἐγένετο, ἀσθενέστερον τοῦ γυναικείου καὶ θηλύτερον.

37 Ἀλλ' ὅ γε πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀνδρεῖος καὶ μεγαλόφρων οὐκ ἄν ποτε πάθοι τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἂν πρόοιτο τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τὴν αὑτοῦ καὶ τὴν παρρησίαν τιμῆς τινος ἀτίμου χάριν ἢ δυνάμεως ἢ χρημάτων, οὐδ' ἂν φθονοῖ τοῖς μεταβαλλομένοις τε καὶ μεταμφιεννυμένοις ἐπὶ τοιαύταις δωρεαῖς, ἀλλ' ἡγοῖτ' ἂν ὁμοίους[2] τοῖς μεταβάλλουσιν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων εἰς ὄφεις ἢ[3] ἄλλα θηρία· ἐκείνους μὲν οὐ ζηλῶν οὐδὲ βασκαίνων αὐτοῖς τῆς τρυφῆς, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον ὀλοφυρόμενος καὶ ἐλεῶν, ὅταν ἐπὶ δώροις, ὥσπερ οἱ παῖδες, ἀποκείρωνται, καὶ
38 ταῦτα τὰς πολιάς· αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ καθ' αὑτὸν πειράσεται διαφυλάττειν εὐσχημόνως καὶ βεβαίως, μηδέποτε λείπων τὴν αὑτοῦ[4] τάξιν, ἀρετὴν δὲ καὶ σωφροσύνην τιμῶν ἀεὶ καὶ αὔξων καὶ πάντας[5] ἐπὶ ταῦτα[6] ἄγων, τὰ μὲν πείθων καὶ παρακαλῶν, τὰ δὲ λοιδορούμενος καὶ ὀνειδίζων, εἴ τινα δύναιτο ἐξελέσθαι ἀφροσύνης καὶ φαύλων ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ ἀκρασίας καὶ τρυφῆς, ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστον ἀπολαμβάνων καὶ ἀθρόους νουθετῶν, ὁσάκις ἂν καιροῦ τύχῃ τινός,

[1] After γένος Arnim deletes εὐνούχων.
[2] ὁμοίους Casaubon : ὁμοίως.
[3] εἰς ὄφεις ἢ Emperius : ἐπ' ὄφεις ἢ UB, ἐποφθείσῃ M.
[4] αὑτοῦ Emperius : αὐτοῦ.

dissolute, who, although there are women in abundance, through wantonness and lawlessness wish to have females produced for them from males, and so they take boys and emasculate them. And thus a far worse and more unfortunate breed is created, weaker than the female and more effeminate.

But he who in very truth is manly and high-minded would never submit to any such things, nor would he sacrifice his own liberty and his freedom of speech for the sake of any dishonourable payment of either power or riches, nor would he envy those who change their form and apparel for such rewards; on the contrary, he would think such persons to be comparable to those who change from human beings into snakes or other animals, not envying them, nor yet carping at them because of their wantonness, but rather bewailing and pitying them when they, like the boys, with an eye to gifts have their hair cut off, and grey hair at that![1] But as for himself, the man of whom I speak will strive to preserve his individuality in seemly fashion and with steadfastness, never deserting his post of duty, but always honouring and promoting virtue and sobriety and trying to lead all men thereto, partly by persuading and exhorting, partly by abusing and reproaching, in the hope that he may thereby rescue somebody from folly and from low desires and intemperance and soft living, taking them aside privately one by one and also admonishing them in groups every time he finds the opportunity,

[1] Long hair was the outward and visible sign of the philosopher.

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[5] *πάντας* Arnim: *πάντα*.
[6] *ταῦτα*] *ταύτην* Reiske.

ἄλλον μειλιχίοις, ἄλλον στερεοῖς ἐπέεσσι,

39 μέχρι ἄν, οἶμαι, διέλθῃ τὸν βίον κηδόμενος[1] ἀνθρώπων, οὐ βοῶν οὐδὲ ἵππων οὐδὲ καμήλων τε καὶ οἰκημάτων, ὑγιὴς μὲν ἐν λόγοις ὑγιὴς δὲ ἐν ἔργοις, ἀβλαβὴς μὲν συνοδοιπόρος ὅτῳ γένοιτο ἢ σύμπλους, ἀγαθὸς δὲ σύμβολος[2] θύουσι φανείς, οὐ στάσιν ἐγείρων οὐδὲ πλεονεξίαν οὐδὲ ἔριδας καὶ φθόνους καὶ αἰσχρὰ κέρδη, σωφροσύνης δὲ ὑπομιμνήσκων καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ὁμόνοιαν αὔξων, ἀπληστίαν δὲ καὶ ἀναίδειαν καὶ μαλακίαν ἐξελαύνων ὅσον δυνατόν, πολὺ τῶν σπονδοφόρων καὶ τῶν κηρύκων τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἐκεχειρίας κομιζόντων ἱερώτερος.

40 Βούλεται μὲν οὖν καὶ προθυμεῖται καθ' ὅσον οἷός τέ ἐστι βοηθεῖν ἅπασιν· ἡττᾶται δ' ἑτέρων ἐνίοτε ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ οὐδὲν ἢ μικρὸν ἰσχύει παντελῶς. λοιπὸν δὲ τὴν αὑτοῦ διάνοιαν καθαίρει τῷ λόγῳ καὶ πειρᾶται παρέχειν ἀδούλευτον, πολὺ μᾶλλον περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας μαχόμενος ἡδοναῖς[3] τε καὶ δόξαις καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἅπασι μετ' ὀλίγων τῶν βουλομένων ἢ Λακεδαιμόνιοί ποτε τὰ στενὰ καταλαβόντες ἐμάχοντο πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, ὀλίγοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες, τρεῖς ἐφεξῆς νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας, μέχρι κυκλωθέντες δι' ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς προδοσίαν ἐν ταὐτῷ
41 μένοντες κατεκόπησαν[4]· τὸ δὲ σῶμα ἀσκῶν καὶ

[1] κηδόμενος Casaubon : ἡδόμενος.

[2] ἀγαθὸς δὲ σύμβολος Emperius : ἀβλαβὴς δὲ σύμβουλος, ἀγαθὸς δὲ.

[3] ἡδοναῖς Geel : ἢ ὀδύναις.

[4] After κατεκόπησαν Hertlein deletes οἳ τὴν Σπάρτην ἐνόμιζον ἐλευθέραν διαφυλάττειν ἀτείχιστον οὖσαν: *who believed that they were preserving Sparta in its freedom, unwalled as it was.*

With gentle words at times, at others harsh,[1]

until, methinks, he shall have spent his life in caring for human beings, not cattle or horses or camels and houses, sound in words and sound in deeds, a safe travelling companion for any one to have on land or sea and a good omen for men to behold when offering sacrifice, not arousing strife or greed or contentions and jealousies and base desires for gain, but reminding men of sobriety and righteousness and promoting concord, but as for insatiate greed and shamelessness and moral weakness, expelling them as best he can—in short, a person far more sacred than the bearers of a truce or the heralds who in times of war come bringing an armistice.

Therefore he wishes, yes, is eager, in so far as he can, to aid all men; though sometimes he is defeated by other men and other practices and has little or no power at all. Finally, he purges his own mind by the aid of reason and tries to render it exempt from slavery, fighting in defence of freedom a much more stubborn battle against lusts and opinions and all mankind, aided by the few who wish to help him, than once the Spartans fought when, having seized the pass, they gave battle to all the hordes from Asia, few though those Spartans were, for three nights and days in succession until, having been enveloped through one man's treachery, they stood their ground and were hacked to pieces.[2] More-

[1] *Iliad* 12. 267, spoken of the chiding administered by the two Ajaxes to their laggard fellow soldiers.

[2] At Thermopylae the traitor Ephialtes led the Persians over a mountain trail to the rear of the Spartans. However, Leonidas and his little band refused to flee, but fought to the last.

συνεθίζων κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν πονεῖν, οὐκ ἐῶν θρύπτεσθαι λουτροῖς τε καὶ ἀλείμμασι καὶ μύροις, μέχρι ἂν γένηται μαλακώτερον καὶ σαθρότερον, ὥσπερ κακὸν σκεῦος. ταῦτα δὲ ὁρῶντες ἔνιοι δι' εὐήθειαν αὐτὸν ἐπιτηδεύειν καὶ ἀφροσύνην φασί, τὸ πλουτεῖν ἐάσαντα καὶ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι καὶ τὸ διὰ παντὸς ἥδεσθαι, καὶ[1] καταφρονοῦσι καὶ
42 μαίνεσθαι νομίζουσι καὶ ἀτιμάζουσιν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ὀργίζεται πρὸς αὐτοὺς οὐδ' ἔχει χαλεπῶς, ἀλλ' ἔστιν, οἶμαι, καὶ πατρὸς εὐνούστερος ἑκάστῳ καὶ ἀδελφῶν καὶ φίλων· καὶ δὴ καὶ τοὺς πολίτας τοὺς αὑτοῦ[2] καὶ φίλους καὶ συγγενεῖς αἰδούμενος μέν, οὐκ ἀποκρυπτόμενος δέ,[3] τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ὅσον τῶν ἄλλων οἰκειοτέρους τε καὶ ἀναγκαιοτέρους νενόμικεν, ὡς οἷόν τε ἐπιτείνας τοὺς λόγους καὶ σφοδροτέραν τὴν νουθεσίαν καὶ παρακέλευσιν ποιούμενος αὑτῷ τε κἀκείνοις.

43 Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἰατρός, ὅτῳ ἀνάγκη πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ἢ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας ἰᾶσθαι νοσοῦντας ἢ καὶ αὐτὸν διὰ σπάνιν τε καὶ ἐρημίαν ἄλλων ἰατρῶν, εἰ δέοι τέμνειν ἢ καίειν, ὅτι φιλεῖ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὸν πατέρα αἰσχύνεται καὶ τὴν μητέρα, διὰ τοῦτο ἀμβλυτέρῳ τῷ σιδήρῳ τέμοι ἂν καὶ χλιαρωτέρῳ τῷ πυρὶ καίοι, τοὐναντίον δὲ ὡς οἷόν τε ἰσχύοντι
44 καὶ ἀκμαίῳ. τὸν γοῦν Ἡρακλέα φασίν, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐδύνατο ἰάσασθαι τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ νόσου δεινῆς κατεχόμενον, τοὺς υἱοὺς καλέσαι πρώτους κε-

[1] καὶ added by Jacobs.
[2] αὑτοῦ Dindorf: αὐτοῦ.
[3] After δέ Geel adds νουθετεῖ.

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[1] Heracles was in torment from the poisoned "shirt of Nessus" which his jealous wife had sent him in the hope

over, he trains his body, inuring it to labour with all his might, not allowing it to become enervated by baths and ointments and perfumes until it becomes too soft and as unsound as a bad vessel. But some who see him say that he follows these practices out of foolishness and stupidity, having neglected the opportunity to be rich, to be honoured, and to live a life of continual pleasure, and they scorn him, think him insane, and esteem him lightly. Yet he is not enraged at them or vexed ; on the contrary, I believe he is kinder to each one than even a father or brothers or friends. And in fact, though he shows respect for his own fellow citizens and friends and kinsmen, still he does not hide his thoughts from them—all the more so because he believes them to be closer to him than all others through home ties and relationship—stressing his words as much as possible and increasing the vehemence of his admonition and exhortation for himself and them alike.

Take, for example, the physician ; if he should find it necessary to treat father or mother or his children when they are ill, or even himself through scarcity or lack of other physicians, in case he should need to employ surgery or cautery, he would not, because he loves his children and respects his father and his mother, for that reason cut with a duller knife or cauterize with milder fire, but, on the contrary, he would use the most potent and vigorous treatment possible. For example, they say of Heracles, that when he was unable to heal his body, which had become the victim of a dread malady,[1] he called his sons first of all and ordered them to set

of recovering his love and loyalty ; cf. Or. 60 and Sophocles, *Trachiniae* 1046-1057.

λεύοντα ὑποπρῆσαι λαμπροτάτῳ πυρί· τῶν δὲ ὀκνούντων καὶ ἀποστρεφομένων, λοιδορεῖν αὐτοὺς ὡς μαλακούς τε καὶ ἀναξίους αὑτοῦ[1] καὶ τῇ μητρὶ μᾶλλον ἐοικότας, λέγοντα, ὡς ὁ ποιητής φησι,

ποῖ μεταστρέφεσθ', ὦ κακοὶ
καὶ ἀνάξιοι τῆς ἐμῆς σπορᾶς,
Αἰτωλίδος ἀγάλματα μητρός;

45 Οὐκοῦν αὑτῷ[2] πρώτῳ χρὴ καὶ τοῖς φιλτάτοις καὶ ἐγγυτάτω μετὰ πλείστης παρρησίας τε καὶ ἐλευθερίας προσφέρεσθαι, μηδὲν ἀποκνοῦντα μηδὲ ὑφιέμενον ἐν τοῖς λόγοις. πολὺ γὰρ χεῖρον[3] διεφθαρμένου σώματος καὶ νοσοῦντος ψυχὴ διεφθαρμένη, μὰ Δία, οὐχ ὑπὸ φαρμάκων χριστῶν[4] ἢ ποτῶν οὐδὲ ὑπὸ ἰοῦ τινος διεσθίοντος, ἀλλ' ὑπό τε ἀγνοίας καὶ πονηρίας καὶ ὕβρεως καὶ φθόνου δὴ καὶ λύπης καὶ μυρίων ἐπιθυμιῶν. τοῦτο τὸ νόσημα καὶ τὸ πάθος χαλεπώτερον ἐκείνου καὶ πολὺ μείζονος καὶ λαμπροτέρου δεόμενον ἐμπρησμοῦ· ἐφ' ἣν ἴασιν καὶ ἀπόλυσιν χρὴ παρακαλεῖν ἀπροφασίστως καὶ πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ξυγγενῆ καὶ ἀλλότριον καὶ πολίτην καὶ ξένον.

[1] αὑτοῦ Dindorf: αὐτοῦ. [2] αὑτῷ Emperius: αὐτῷ.
[3] After χεῖρον Reiske deletes καί.
[4] χριστῶν Casaubon: χρειστῶν or χρηστῶν.

fire to him with most brilliant flame; but when they were reluctant and shrank from the ordeal, he abused them as weaklings and unworthy of him and more like their mother, saying, in the words of the poet,

> Whither away, ye cravens and disgrace
> To my engendering, ye likenesses
> Of her, your mother, whom Aetolia bore?[1]

Therefore toward oneself first of all, and also toward one's nearest and dearest, one must behave with fullest frankness and independence, showing no reluctance or yielding in one's words. For far worse than a corrupt and diseased body is a soul which is corrupt, not, I swear, because of salves or potions or some consuming poison, but rather because of ignorance and depravity and insolence, yes, and jealousy and grief and unnumbered desires. This disease and ailment is more grievous than that of Heracles and requires a far greater and more flaming cautery; and to this healing and release one must summon without demur father or son, kinsman or outsider, citizen or alien.

[1] Nauck, *T.G.F.*, adespota 99. The mother of Heracles' sons was Deïaneira, daughter of Oeneus, king in Calydon, and sister of the famous Meleager.

# THE SEVENTY-NINTH DISCOURSE: ON WEALTH

The title of this Discourse as preserved in Parisinus 2985 is *περὶ πλούτου τῶν ἐν Κιλικίᾳ*, but the other manuscripts give merely *περὶ πλούτου*. What is the explanation of the additional phrase contained in the Paris manuscript? Cilicia is not named in the document before us, and a careful scrutiny of the speech fails to reveal any clear clue to the place of its delivery. One may reasonably infer from the choice of subject that Dio was addressing an audience in some wealthy city. His opening sentence might suggest Rome as the setting, but, were that the case, one may question whether he would have identified himself with his hearers as he does in § 5. The logical conclusion would seem to be that the scribe of the Paris manuscript has preserved for us a genuine tradition, based upon some memorandum left by the author, or else, possibly, upon the circumstances attending the discovery of the speech by his editor.

Assuming the accuracy of the title referred to, one would naturally think of Tarsus as the city in which Dio was speaking, for two of the speeches in our collection were certainly delivered in that city (33 and 34), and Dio calls Tarsus "the greatest of all the cities of Cilicia and a metropolis from the outset" (Or. 34. 7).

The argument of our Discourse is, in brief, that wealth confers upon its owners no desirable distinction, possesses no real utility, is transitory in its nature, and leads to vulgar extravagance, in the course of which Celts, Indians, Iberians, Arabs, and Babylonians "take tribute" from the stupid and self-indulgent persons who covet their exotic products. That for which a city really merits commendation and congratulation is the excellence of its laws, the probity of its citizens, and the moderation of its rulers.

# 79. ΠΕΡΙ ΠΛΟΥΤΟΥ

1 Φέρε πρὸς θεῶν, ἐπὶ τίνι μάλιστα θαυμάζειν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ μέγα φρονεῖν καὶ μακαρίζειν ἄξιον πόλιν ἁπασῶν μεγίστην καὶ δυνατωτάτην; πότερον ἐπὶ νόμων ἀρετῇ καὶ πολιτῶν ἐπιεικείᾳ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ τῶν ἀρχόντων, ἢ ταῦτα μὲν μικρὰ καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄξια καὶ ῥᾴδια τοῖς τυχοῦσιν, ἐπὶ δὲ ἀνθρώπων πλήθει καὶ ἀγορᾶς ἀφθονίᾳ καὶ τῇ πολυτελείᾳ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων δεῖ μακαρίζειν αὐτὴν καὶ τοῖς Σύρων[1] καὶ Βαβυλωνίων ὑφάσμασι, καὶ ὅτι χρυσῷ τὰς οἰκίας ἐρέπτουσι, καὶ μεστὰ πάντα ἀργύρου καὶ ἠλέκτρου καὶ ἐλέφαντος, ὁποῖα Ὅμηρος εἴρηκε τὰ Ἀλκινόου καὶ τὰ Μενελάου βασίλεια ὑπερβάλλων τό τε ἀληθὲς καὶ τὸ δυνατὸν σχεδόν, οὕτως ἅπασαν[2] ἠσκημένην τὴν πόλιν· καὶ νὴ Δία ἐπὶ ταῖς γραφαῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀνδριᾶσιν, ὧν οὐδὲν ὤνησε τοὺς πρότερον ἔχοντας, ἀλλὰ παρ' ὧν ἐκεῖνα ἐκομίσθη,[3] τούτους ἴδοι τις ἂν δούλους καὶ ταπεινοὺς καὶ πένητας;

2 Εἰ γὰρ ἦν ὄφελός τι χαλκοῦ καλῶς κεκραμένου

[1] Σύρων] Σήρων Reiske.
[2] After ἅπασαν Casaubon adds πλάσας.
[3] ἐκομίσθη Emperius : ἐκοσμήθη.

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[1] For his description, see *Odyssey* 7. 84-97 and 4. 71-75 respectively. In *Odyssey* 4. 73 ἠλέκτρου may mean a natural

# THE SEVENTY-NINTH DISCOURSE: ON WEALTH

Come now, in Heaven's name do tell me: on what account above all is it fitting to admire, yes, to feel proud of and to congratulate, a city which is the greatest and the most powerful of all? Is it for excellence of laws, for probity of citizens, and for moderation of its rulers; or are these things trifles and worthless and easy to come by for ordinary people, and is it rather for multitude of inhabitants, lavishness of market-place, and sumptuousness of its edifices that one should congratulate it, for its Syrian and Babylonian fabrics, and because its citizens roof their houses with gold and the whole place teems with silver and amber and ivory, like the palaces of Alcinoüs and Menelaüs which Homer has described [1] —overstepping the reality and the possibility too, one may venture to suggest—the city, I mean, having been equipped throughout in that fashion? Would it be, in Heaven's name, for its paintings and its statues, none of which had been of any service to their former owners; on the contrary, those from whom these things were obtained would be found to be slaves, of low estate, and poor?

For example, if there were any utility in bronze

alloy of gold and silver rather than amber, which is its usual meaning and the one required in § 4.

καὶ κρατήρων καὶ βωμῶν καὶ θυμιατηρίων περιττῶς εἰργασμένων, ἡ Κορινθίων πόλις ἂν εὐδαίμων ἦν καὶ πολὺν ᾤκεῖτο ἂν χρόνον, σῴζουσα τοὺς ἑαυτῆς οἰκήτορας καὶ πολίτας· εἰ δ' αὖ λίθων εὐχρόων καὶ ποικίλων, ἡ[1] Τηίων ἢ Καρυστίων καί τινων Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Φρυγῶν παρ' οἷς ἐστι τὰ ὄρη ποικίλα· ἀκούω δ' ἔγωγε τῶν σορῶν[2] τὰς πάνυ παλαιὰς τῆς αὐτῆς εἶναι πέτρας· ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδενός εἰσι βελτίους οὐδ' εὐτυχέστεροι τῶν πάνυ ταπεινῶν[3] τε καὶ ἀθλίων.

3 Εἰ δέ γε ὠφέλει τὸ κεκτῆσθαι χρυσίον οὐδὲν ἐκώλυεν Αἰθίοπας τοὺς ἄνω μακαριωτάτους εἶναι δοκεῖν, ὅπου τὸ χρυσίον ἀτιμότερον ἢ παρ' ἡμῖν ὁ μόλιβδος, καί φασιν αὐτόθι τοὺς κακούργους ἐν παχείαις χρυσαῖς[4] δεδέσθαι πέδαις, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἧττόν εἰσι δεσμῶται καὶ πονηροὶ καὶ ἄδικοι. τὸ δὲ μακαρίζειν τοὺς πλουσίους καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα ἔχοντας, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα μηδὲν διαφέροντας τῶν πάνυ φαύλων, ὅμοιον οἷον[5] εἴ τις τοὺς ἐκεῖ δεσμώτας ἰδὼν προϊόντας ἐκ τῆς εἱρκτῆς ἐζήλου, καὶ πάντων εὐδαιμονέστατον ἔκρινε τὸν ἔχοντα τὰς μείζους πέδας.

4 Εἰ δὲ ἐλέφας θαυμαστὸν κτῆμα καὶ περιμάχητον,

[1] ἡ Casaubon : ἢ. [2] σορῶν Post : ὀρῶν.
[3] ταπεινῶν Pflugk, ταλαιπώρων Emperius, φαύλων Selden : παλαιῶν. [4] χρυσαῖς added by Casaubon.
[5] οἷον added by Emperius, ὡς Casaubon.

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[1] Corinth for centuries led in art and commerce, but it was destroyed by Mummius in 146 B.C. Julius Caesar revived it

well blended and in mixing-bowls and altars and censers of cunning workmanship, the Corinthians' city would have been prosperous and have long maintained its existence as a state, safeguarding its own settlers and citizens.[1] And again, if there were utility in beautifully coloured and variegated marbles, the same statement could be made about the cities of Teos and Carystus,[2] as well as about certain Egyptian and Phrygian cities in whose vicinity the mountains are of variegated stone—in fact, I hear that among their sarcophagi the very ancient ones are of this same rock—yet, for all that, they are no better or more fortunate than any of the very lowly and pitiful cities.

Furthermore, if it were advantageous to possess gold, there was nothing to prevent the Ethiopians of the interior from being deemed most fortunate, for in their land gold is less highly prized than lead is with us, and it is said that in that region the criminals have been bound with heavy fetters of gold,[3] yet they are none the less prisoners and depraved and evildoers. But to congratulate the wealthy and men of great riches, when in all other respects they are no better than very ordinary folk, is as if, on seeing the prisoners of Ethiopia emerge from their prison, one were to envy them and judge the most fortunate of all to be the one with the heaviest fetters.

Again, if ivory is a marvellous possession and worth

as a Roman colony more than a century prior to our Discourse and it was again rich and populous.

[2] Teos was midway between Smyrna and Ephesus, Carystus was in Euboea. We hear little of Tean marble, but Roman writers often speak of the green marble of Carystus, which was very popular.

[3] Cf. Herodotus 3. 23.

Ἰνδοὶ πολὺ πάντων ὀλβιώτατοι καὶ ἄριστοι, παρ' οἷς ἔρριπται τὰ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ὀστᾶ καὶ οὐδεὶς πρόσεισιν, ὥσπερ ἐνθάδε τὰ τῶν βοῶν τε καὶ ὄνων· καὶ πολλαχοῦ φασιν ἐν τοῖς τοίχοις ἐνοικοδομεῖσθαι τὰ κρανία τῶν ἐλεφάντων αὐτοῖς ὀδοῦσιν. τί δὲ χρὴ περὶ Κελτῶν λέγειν, ὅπου φασὶ ποταμόν τινα καταφέρειν τὸ ἤλεκτρον καὶ πολὺ πανταχοῦ κεῖσθαι παρὰ ταῖς ὄχθαις ἐκβεβρασμένον, ὥσπερ αἱ ψῆφοι παρ' ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν αἰγιαλῶν; καὶ πρότερον μὲν οἱ παῖδες παίζοντες διερρίπτουν[1]· νῦν δὲ κἀκεῖνοι συλλέγουσι καὶ φυλάττουσιν αὐτό, παρ' ἡμῶν μεμαθηκότες ὅτι εἰσὶν εὐδαίμονες.

5 Ἆρα ἐνθυμεῖσθε ὅτι πάντες οὗτοι, λέγω δὲ τοὺς Κελτοὺς καὶ Ἰνδοὺς καὶ Ἴβηρας[2] καὶ Ἄραβας καὶ Βαβυλωνίους, φόρους παρ' ἡμῶν λαμβάνουσιν, οὐ τῆς χώρας οὐδὲ τῶν βοσκημάτων, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀνοίας τῆς ἡμετέρας; οὐ γάρ, ἂν μὲν τοῖς ὅπλοις κρατήσαντές τινες ἀναγκάσωσιν αὐτοῖς ἀργύριον ὑποτελεῖν τοὺς ἡττημένους, τοῦτο ὀνομάζεται φόρος, καὶ ἔστιν ἀνθρώπων οὐ σφόδρα εὐτυχῶν οὐδὲ ἀνδρείων δασμὸν ἑτέροις παρέχειν· ἐὰν δέ τινες, μήτε ἐπιστρατευσαμένου μηδενὸς μήτε ἀναγκάσαντος, δι' εὐήθειαν δὲ καὶ τρυφήν, ὃ περὶ πλείστου ποιοῦνται ἁπάντων, ἀργύριον πέμπωσιν ἑκόντες, διὰ μακρᾶς μὲν ὁδοῦ πολλῆς δὲ θαλάττης,

[1] παίζοντες διερρίπτουν Emperius: ἔπαιζον τὰ δὲ ἐρρίπτουν.
[2] Ἴβηρας] Σῆρας Emperius.

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[1] Amber was found at Olbia, near the mouth of the Dnieper, and also at Marseilles, at the mouth of the Rhône.

fighting for, the Indians are of all men most blest and pre-eminent by far, for in their land the bones of the elephants are tossed aside and no one troubles to go near them, just as in our land the bones of cattle and of asses are treated; they even say that in many places the skulls of the elephants, tusks and all, are built into their house walls. But what should we say of the Celts, in whose country, according to report, a certain river carries the amber down with its waters and the amber is found in abundance everywhere by the river banks, cast ashore like the pebbles on the beaches in our country?[1] Indeed, in days gone by their children at play used to toss it about, though now they too collect and treasure it, having learned from us how fortunate they are.

Are you aware that all these peoples—the Celts, Indians, Iberians, Arabs,[2] and Babylonians—exact tribute from us, not from our land or from our flocks and herds, but from our own folly? For if, when by force of arms any people get the upper hand and compel the vanquished to pay them silver, this is called tribute, and it is a sign that people are not very fortunate or brave if they pay tribute to others, then is it not true that if, though no one has attacked or compelled them, but because of stupidity and self-indulgence, a certain people take that which they prize most highly, silver, and of their own volition send it over a long road and across a vast expanse

Dio may have the latter in mind, for his "Celts" may refer to the Celtiberians of that general region, both Celts and Iberians being listed in the next section.

[2] The Iberians and Arabs have not been mentioned previously in this speech. Their inclusion here may betoken *ex-tempore* delivery.

τοῖς μηδὲ ἐπιβῆναι ῥᾳδίως δυναμένοις τῆς ἡμετέρας γῆς, οὐ τῷ[1] παντὶ κάκιόν τε καὶ αἴσχιον τὸ γιγνό-
6 μενον; πλὴν ὅτι λίθους μικροὺς καὶ ἀσθενεῖς καί, νὴ Δία, θηρίων ὀστᾶ διδόντες λαμβάνουσιν ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον, ἀντὶ χρηστῶν ἄχρηστα ἀντικαταλλαττόμενοι. μάλιστα δὲ θαυμάζω πολλάκις ἐννοῶν[2] ὅτι Μῆδοι μὲν τὰ Σύρων λαβόντες ἠγάπων καὶ ἔχαιρον, Πέρσαι δὲ τὰ Μήδων, Μακεδόνες δὲ τὰ Περσῶν, καὶ τότε ᾤοντο εὐτυχεῖς γεγονέναι καὶ πράττειν ἄμεινον, ὅτε εἶχον τὰ τῶν ἀθλίων καὶ δυστυχούντων κτήματα.

Ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἄλλως ἔγωγε ληρῶν εἶπον, ἀλλ' ὅτι τῶν τοιούτων, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔχουσι τὴν πᾶσαν σπουδὴν καὶ ἐφ' οἷς θαυμάζουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τοὺς κεκτημένους, οὐδέν ἐστιν ὄφελος, ἀλλ' οὐδεμιᾶς ἄξια δραχμῆς τὰ σύμπαντα· οὐδ' ἂν γένοιντο ἄνθρωποί ποτε εὐδαίμονες ἀνόητοι καὶ ἄφρονες, οὐδ' ἂν τὸν ἐν Σούσοις παράδεισον οἰκήσωσιν,[3] ὃς ἦν, ὥς φασι, μετέωρος ἅπας.

[1] οὐ τῷ Casaubon : οὕτω or οὕτως.
[2] ἐννοῶν Reiske : ἐνίων.
[3] οἰκήσωσιν Dindorf, ἐνοικήσωσιν Reiske, ἀνοικοδομήσωσιν Post : οἰκοδομήσουσιν or οἰκοδομήσωσιν.

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[1] Bits of amber. Theophrastus, *De Lapidibus* 29, classifies amber as a λίθος.

[2] By "Syrian" Dio is thought to have meant Assyrian; Herodotus (7. 63) says Syrian was the Greek term, Assyrian the barbarian. Cyaxares the Mede at the close of the seventh century took part in the sack of Nineveh.

of sea to those who cannot easily even set foot upon our soil, such conduct is altogether more cowardly and disgraceful? Except for one thing, that they do offer tiny, fragile pebbles[1] and, forsooth, bones of wild beasts when they take our silver and gold, exchanging useless things for useful! But I am often most astonished when I reflect that the Medes were well content, yes, delighted at having got the Syrian[2] riches, and the Persians in turn at having got that of the Medes, and the Macedonians that of the Persians, and that they thought they had at last become Fortune's darlings and were more prosperous at the moment when they had in their possession what once had belonged to those wretched and unfortunate peoples.

But these words I have spoken, not in a spirit of idle folly, but because such goods, on the possession of which they have set their hearts and for which most men admire those who have acquired them, are good for nothing, nay, are not worth a single drachma when lumped together; nor can human beings ever become fortunate if ignorant and empty-headed, not even if they make the park at Susa their dwelling-place, a park which was, we are told, wholly up in the air.[3]

[3] At Susa the Persian monarch had his chief palace, which, like the palace of Xerxes at Persepolis, was built on lofty artificial terraces, in imitation of Babylon. In speaking of "the park at Susa" Dio may have had in mind the "hanging gardens" of Babylon, which Diodorus himself calls a παράδεισος.

# THE EIGHTIETH DISCOURSE: ON FREEDOM

Conditions surrounding the Greek title of this Discourse are the opposite of those noted in connexion with that of the one preceding, for in the present instance all manuscripts except Parisinus 2985 add the phrase *τῶν ἐν Κιλικίᾳ*. What was said in the Introduction to Or. 79 regarding the problem presented by that phrase is equally appropriate here, for once more we get no clue to the place of delivery.

The freedom which the speaker has chosen as his theme is the freedom which characterizes himself, the philosopher—freedom to come and go as suits his fancy, freedom from the anxieties and inconveniencies that harass mankind at large, freedom from the temptations which assail seekers after riches or fame or self-indulgence. Such freedom belongs to him who leads the simple life, obedient to the ordinances of Zeus rather than to those of some imperfect, earthly law-giver. This creed is abundantly fortified with illustrations drawn from Greek myth and history.

## 80. ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΚΙΛΙΚΙΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ

1 Ὑμεῖς μὲν ἴσως θαυμάζετε καὶ παράδοξον ἡγεῖσθε καὶ οὐδαμῶς σωφρονοῦντος ἀνδρός, ὅστις ἁπάντων ἀποστὰς περὶ ἃ οἱ πολλοὶ σπουδάζουσι, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἐάσας κατὰ ῥοῦν φέρεσθαι χρήματά τε καὶ δόξας καὶ ἡδονάς, οὔτε γεωργὸς οὔτε ναύκληρος οὔτε στρατιώτης οὔτε στρατηγὸς περίεισιν, οὐ σκυτοτόμος, οὐ τέκτων, οὐκ ἰατρός, οὐ ῥήτωρ, οὐκ ἄλλο τι σύνηθες πρᾶγμα ποιῶν,[1] οὑτωσὶ δὲ ἀτόπως ἰών τε καὶ ἀπιὼν καὶ παριστάμενος ἔνθα μηδὲν αὐτῷ πρᾶγμά ἐστιν, ἀλλ'
2 ὡς ἂν τύχῃ τε καὶ ὁρμήσῃ· βουλευτήρια μὲν καὶ θέατρα καὶ συλλόγους ἀτιμάσας, ἐκκλησιάζων δὲ μόνος αὐτός· καὶ θεωρῶν οὐκ ὀρχουμένους οὐδὲ ᾄδοντας οὐδὲ πυκτεύοντας οὐδὲ παλαίοντας, ἀλλ' ὠνουμένους καὶ βαδίζοντας καὶ λαλοῦντας καὶ μαχομένους, ποτὲ μὲν τούτοις ἅπασι προσέχων εὖ μάλα καὶ τερπόμενος πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ παῖδες ἐν ἀγῶσι καὶ θεάτροις, οὐ προκαταλαμβάνων οὐδὲ ἀγρυπνῶν οὐδὲ θλιβόμενος, ποτὲ δὲ αὖ[2] μήτ' ἀκούων μηδενὸς μήθ' ὁρῶν, ἀλλὰ μηδ' εἶναι[3] νομίζων αὐτούς, ἐννοῶν ὃ βούλεται καὶ πράττων ἀδεῶς.

[1] ποιῶν Emperius: κοινόν. [2] αὖ Casaubon: ἄν.
[3] ἀλλὰ μηδ' εἶναι Emperius: ἀλλὰ μηδ' εἰδέναι UB, μὴ δ' εἰδέναι M.

## THE EIGHTIETH DISCOURSE: ON FREEDOM

You perhaps are surprised and consider it past all belief and a mark of one who is by no means of sound judgement if a person abandons all that most men view with serious regard and, as one might say, permits riches and fame and pleasures to drift downstream but goes about as neither farmer nor trader nor soldier nor general, nor as shoemaker or builder or physician or orator, nor as one engaged in any other customary occupation, but, on the other hand, comes and goes in this strange fashion and puts in an appearance in places where he has no business at all but rather where chance and impulse may lead him. Council chambers and theatres and assemblies he has held in light esteem, and yet he conducts a popular assembly all by himself; the spectacles which attract his gaze are not dancers or singers or boxers or wrestlers, but buyers and strollers and talkers and fighters; sometimes all these receive his very strict attention, and he derives from them much more enjoyment than do boys at athletic contests and theatrical performances, although he does not come ahead of time or keep awake all night to get a seat or get crushed by the crowd; at other times, on the contrary, he neither hears nor sees any single one of them, but ignores their existence, thinking of anything that suits his fancy and acting without fear.

3 Ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν λαμπρὸν ἡγοῦμαι καὶ μακάριον, εἴ τις ἐν οἰκέταις[1] ἐλεύθερος εἶναι δύναται καὶ ἐν ὑπηκόοις αὐτόνομος· ὑπὲρ οὗ[2] πολλὰ μὲν Λυδοὶ Φρυξί, πολλὰ δὲ Φρύγες Λυδοῖς ἐπολέμησαν, πολλὰ δ' Ἴωνές τε καὶ Δωριεῖς καὶ ξύμπαντα γένη, ἀνόητοι εἴδους[3] αὐτονομίας ἐρῶντες. οὐδεὶς δ'[4] ἐγκεχείρηκεν τοῖς αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ χρῆσθαι[5] νόμοις, οἱ δὲ ξύμπαντες περὶ τῶν Σόλωνος καὶ Δράκοντος καὶ Νόμα καὶ Ζαλεύκου νόμων ἐρίζουσιν, ὅπως τούτοις ἀλλὰ μὴ τούτοις ἕπωνται, μηδενὸς αὖ μηδὲ ἐκείνων οἷα ἐχρῆν θέντος.[6] Σόλωνα μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸν εἰρηκέναι[7] φασὶν ὡς[8] αὐτῷ μὴ ἀρέσκοντα εἰσηγεῖτο Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλ' οἷς αὐτοὺς ὑπελάμβανε χρήσεσθαι.

4 Δῆλον οὖν ὅτι πονηροὺς ἔγραφε νόμους, εἴπερ τοὺς ἀρέσοντας πονηροῖς ἔγραφεν· ἀλλ' ὅμως καὶ αὐτὸς τούτοις ἐχρῆτο πονηροῖς τε οὖσι καὶ οὐκ ἀρέσκουσιν αὐτῷ. δῆλον οὖν ὅτι τούτων μὲν οὐδενὶ μετῆν αὐτονομίας, οὐδὲ ἐσπούδαζον οὐδὲ

[1] οἰκέταις Casaubon : οἰκίαις or οἰκείαις.
[2] After οὗ Emperius adds δὲ.
[3] ἀνόητοι εἴδους] ἀνοήτῳ δὲ ψευδοῦς Gasda, ἀνόνητον εἶδος Sonny, ἀλλὰ νοητοειδοῦς Post.
[4] ἐρῶντες. οὐδεὶς δ' Crosby, οὗ ἔρωτι Sonny : ἔρωτι οὐδεὶς.
[5] χρῆσθαι Morel : χρᾶσθαι.
[6] θέντος Emperius : τιθέντων.
[7] εἰρηκέναι Jacobs : εἰδέναι.
[8] After ὡς Jacobs deletes ὅτι.

[1] How much did Dio know of this warfare? Herodotus begins his account of Lydia at the point where all the country west of the Halys River was subject to the Lydians.

[2] The casual reference to Numa, legendary king and lawgiver of Rome, suggests that the audience either was well

As for myself, however, I regard it as a splendid and blessed state of being, if in the midst of slaves one can be a free man and in the midst of subjects be independent. To attain this state many wars were waged by the Lydians against the Phrygians and by the Phrygians against the Lydians,[1] and many, too, by both Ionians and Dorians and, in fact, by all peoples, fools that they were to be enamoured of a counterfeit of freedom! Yet none of them has undertaken to use his own personal laws; instead they all wrangle over the laws of Solon and Draco and Numa and Zaleucus,[2] bent on following the one code but not the other, though, on the other hand, not even one of these law-givers had framed the sort of laws he should. Why, Solon himself, according to report, declared that he was proposing for the Athenians, not what satisfied himself, but rather what he assumed they would accept.[3]

Evidently, therefore, he composed bad laws, if indeed he composed the laws which would satisfy bad men; but, for all that, even Solon himself used these laws, bad as they were and not satisfactory to himself. Clearly, then, not one of these law-givers had any claim to independence, nor did they exert themselves or wage war for the purpose of

educated or else contained persons with a Roman background. To be sure, at about this time Plutarch was composing his life of Numa, but the name appears rarely in Greek writings. Zaleucus, early law-giver of Locri in Italy, had been discussed by Ephorus (4th century B.C.) in his *Universal History*.

[3] The fragments of Solon's poems bearing upon his legislation testify to his pride in the achievement; however, Plutarch reports (*Solon* 15. 2) that, in defence of his laws, Solon once said that they were " the best laws the Athenians would have accepted."

ἐπολέμουν ὅπως ὦσιν ἐλεύθεροι· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἄφθονόν τε καὶ πολλὴν δουλείαν ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν ἐγκαθείρξαντες ἔπειτα ἐπάλξεσι καὶ πύργοις καὶ βέλεσιν ἠμύνοντο, ὅπως μὴ εἰσίοι ἔξωθεν παρ' αὐτούς, ὥσπερ εἴ τις νεὼς διερρηγμένης κλύδωνος ἔνδον ὄντος φυλάττοιτο καὶ πράγματα ἔχοι, μήποτε ἄνωθεν ὑπερβάλῃ. καθάπερ οὖν φασι τοὺς Τρῶας ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλένης πολιορκεῖσθαι καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν οὐκ ἔνδον οὔσης ἀλλ' ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ταὐτὸ πάθος οὗτοι πεπόνθασιν[1]· ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐμάχοντο καὶ ἠγωνίων, οὐκ οὔσης παρ' αὐτοῖς.

5 Ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐκεῖνοί τε ἔλεγον πάντα πάσχειν ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων, καὶ νῦν φασιν ἐν τούτοις εἶναι τὴν δίκην, ὁπόσ' ἂν[2] αὐτοὶ δυστυχεῖς ὄντες συγγράφωσιν ἢ παρ' ἄλλων ὁμοίων[3] παραλάβωσιν. νόμον δὲ τὸν ἀληθῆ καὶ κύριον καὶ φανερὸν οὔτε ὁρῶσιν οὔτε ἡγεμόνα ποιοῦνται τοῦ βίου. τοιγαροῦν ὥσπερ ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ λάμποντος ἡλίου δᾷδας ἴασι καὶ δαλοὺς ἀράμενοι, τὸ μὲν θεῖον φῶς ἐάσαντες,[4] καπνῷ δὲ ἑπόμενοι κἂν μικρὸν αἴθυγμα δεικνύντι πυρός. ὁ μὲν οὖν τῆς φύσεως νόμος ἀφεῖται καὶ ἐκλέλοιπε[5] παρ' ὑμῖν, ὦ κακοδαίμονες· ἄξονας δὲ καὶ γραμματεῖα καὶ στήλας φυλάττετε καὶ ἀνωφελῆ στίγματα.

6 Καὶ τὸν μὲν τοῦ Διὸς θεσμὸν πάλαι παρέβητε,

[1] πεπόνθασιν] πεπόνθεσαν Arnim.
[2] ὁπόσ' ἂν Pflugk : ὁπότ' ἂν or ὁπόταν.
[3] ὁμοίων Morel : ὁμοίως.
[4] ἐάσαντες Morel : ἐλάσαντες.
[5] ἐκλέλοιπε Emperius : λέλοιπε.

[1] Stesichorus is said to have invented this version of the Helen story, incorporating it in his famous palinode, four

being free ; on the contrary, after they had gathered within the compass of their city walls slavery without bound or limit, thereupon with ramparts and towers and missiles they tried to protect themselves against the chance that freedom might make its entry among them from without, just as if, when a ship's seams have opened up and the hold is already taking water, one were to take measures of prevention and be concerned lest perchance the sea might sweep over from above. Accordingly, just as it is said that the Trojans for Helen's sake endured siege and death, although she was not at Troy but in Egypt,[1] just so has it been with these men—in behalf of their freedom they fought and struggled, when all the while they had no freedom.

Yet not only did these men of old profess to be enduring all things in defence of the laws, but even now men say that justice resides in whatever laws they themselves, luckless creatures that they are, may frame or else inherit from others like themselves. But the law which is true and binding and plain to behold they neither see nor make a guide for their life. So at noon, as it were, beneath the blazing sun, they go about with torches and flambeaux in their hands, ignoring the light of heaven but following smoke if it shows even a slight glint of fire. Thus, while the law of nature is abandoned and eclipsed with you, poor unfortunates that you are, tablets and statute books and slabs of stone with their fruitless symbols are treasured by you.

Again, while the ordinance of Zeus you transgressed

lines of which have been preserved by Plato (*Phaedrus* 243 A). Herodotus tells the story in great detail (2. 112-119), and Euripides used that version for the framework of his *Helen*.

τὸν δὲ τοῦ δεῖνος ἢ τὸν τοῦ δεῖνος ὅπως μηδεὶς παραβήσεται σκοπεῖσθε. καὶ τὴν ἀρὰν ἣν Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ τῶν Σόλωνος ἔθεντο νόμων τοῖς ἐπιχειροῦσι καταλύειν ἀγνοεῖτε κυριωτέραν οὖσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου νόμοις· πᾶσα γὰρ ἀνάγκη τὸν συγχέοντα[1] τὸν[2] θεσμὸν ἄτιμον ὑπάρχειν[3]· πλὴν παῖδας καὶ γένος οὐκ ἐπέξεισιν, ὡς ἐκεῖ, τῶν ἁμαρτανόντων, ἀλλ' ἕκαστος αὑτῷ[4] γίγνεται τῆς ἀτυχίας αἴτιος. τὸν οὖν ἐπιχειροῦντα τοῦτον ἀνασῴζειν[5] ὡς ἂν οἷός τε ᾖ καὶ τό γε καθ' αὑτὸν φυλάττειν οὐδέποτε ἂν μὴ φρονεῖν φαίην ἔγωγε.

7 Πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς θαυμάζω καὶ ἐλεῶ τῆς χαλεπῆς καὶ παρανόμου δουλείας ἐν ᾗ ζεύξαντες αὑτοὺς ἔχετε, οὐχ ἑνὶ δεσμῷ μόνον περιβαλόντες[6] οὐδὲ δυσίν, ἀλλὰ μυρίοις, ὑφ' ὧν ἄγχεσθε καὶ πιέζεσθε πολὺ μᾶλλον τῶν ἐν ἁλύσει τε καὶ κλοιῷ καὶ πέδαις ἑλκομένων. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἔστι καὶ ἀφεθῆναι καὶ διακόψασι φυγεῖν, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀεὶ μᾶλλον κρατύνεσθε τὰ δεσμὰ καὶ πλείω καὶ ἰσχυρότερα ἀπεργάζεσθε. καὶ μή, ὅτι οὐχ ὁρᾶτε αὐτά, ψευδῆ καὶ ἄπιστον ἡγεῖσθε τόνδε τὸν λόγον· σκοπεῖτε δὲ Ὁμήρου τοῦ καθ' ὑμᾶς[7] σοφωτάτου ποῖ' ἄττα δεσμὰ τὸν Ἄρη φησὶ[8] κατασχεῖν,

[1] συγχέοντα Casaubon : συνέχοντα.
[2] τὸν with UB, τόνδε τὸν Emperius, τὸ πᾶν Arnim ; τὸν δὲ M.
[3] ἄτιμον ὑπάρχειν Emperius, ἀραῖον ὑπάρχειν Arnim : ἀθηναῖον ἐπάρχειν.
[4] αὑτῷ Reiske : αὐτῶν.
[5] ἀνασῴζειν Casaubon : ἂν σῴζειν.
[6] περιβαλόντες Pflugk : περιβάλλοντες.

long ago, the ordinance of this man or of that you make it your aim that no man shall transgress. Moreover, the curse which the Athenians established in connexion with Solon's laws against all who should attempt to destroy them [1] you fail to see is more valid touching the laws of Zeus, for it is wholly inevitable that he who attempts to nullify the ordinance of Zeus shall be an outlaw—except that in this instance children and kinsmen of the guilty are not included in the punishment, as they were at Athens; instead, each is held accountable for his own misfortune. Whoever, therefore, tries to rescue this ordinance as best he can and to guard his own conduct I for my part would never say is lacking in judgement.

But much more do I marvel at and pity you [2] for the grievous and unlawful slavery under whose yoke you have placed your necks, for you have thrown about you not merely one set of fetters or two but thousands, fetters by which you are throttled and oppressed much more than are those who drag themselves along in chains and halters and shackles. For they have the chance of release or of breaking their bonds and fleeing, but you are always strengthening your bonds and making them more numerous and stronger. Moreover, merely because you do not see your bonds, do not think that these words of mine are false and untrustworthy; nay, consider Homer—who in your estimation is wisest of all—and what kind of bonds he says made Ares captive,

[1] Cf. Aristotle, *Athen. Pol.* 16. 10.

[2] Dio here recalls his opening statement, that his hearers may be surprised at his conduct.

[7] ὑμᾶς Emperius: ἡμᾶς. [8] φησὶ Morel: φασὶ.

ὠκύτατόν περ ἐόντα θεῶν, οἳ Ὄλυμπον ἔχουσιν,
ἠΰτ' ἀράχνια λεπτά, τά γ' οὔ κέ τις οὐδὲ ἴδοιτο.

8 Μὴ οὖν οἴεσθε τὸν μὲν Ἄρη, θεὸν ὄντα καὶ ἰσχυρόν, οὕτως ὑπὸ λεπτῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων πεδηθῆναι δεσμῶν, αὑτοὺς δέ, πάντων θηρίων ἀσθενεστάτους ὄντας, μὴ ἄν ποτε ἁλῶναι δεσμοῖς ἀφανέσιν, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ σιδήρου τε καὶ ὀρειχάλκου εὖ[1] πεποιημένα εἴη. τὰ μὲν οὖν σώματα ὑμῶν, οἷα δὴ στερεὰ καὶ τὸ πλέον γῆς γέμοντα,[2] τοιούτων[3] δεῖται[4] τῶν κρατησόντων· ψυχὴ δὲ ἀόρατός που καὶ λεπτὴ φύσει πῶς οὐκ[5] ἂν δεσμῶν τοιούτων τυγχάνοι;[6] ὑμεῖς δὲ στερροὺς καὶ ἀδαμαντίνους πεποίησθε πάσῃ μηχανῇ πλεξάμενοι, καὶ τὸν Δαίδαλον[7] αὐτὸν ὑπερβεβλημένοι τῇ τέχνῃ τε καὶ σπουδῇ πρὸς τὸ πᾶν ὑμῶν μέρος τῆς ψυχῆς καταδεδέσθαι καὶ μηδὲν ἐλεύθερον εἶναι μηδὲ αὐτόνομον.
9 τί γὰρ ἦν ἡ Κνωσίων εἱρκτὴ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Λαβυρίνθου σκολιὸν πρὸς τὴν σκολιότητα καὶ τὸ δυσεύρετον τῆς ἀφροσύνης; τί δ' ἡ Σικελικὴ φρουρὰ τῶν Ἀττικῶν αἰχμαλώτων, οὓς εἰς πέτραν τινὰ ἐνέβαλον; τί δ' ὁ Λακώνων Κεάδας καὶ τὸ παρὰ

[1] εὖ deleted by Reiske.
[2] γῆς γέμοντα with M, ἐκ γῆς γεγονότα Arnim: ὀργῆς γέμοντα UB.
[3] τοιούτων Emperius: τοσούτων.
[4] δεῖται Geel: δεῖ.
[5] οὐκ added by Geel.
[6] After τυγχάνοι Geel deletes κατὰ τὸν Ἥφαιστον αὐτόν.
[7] Δαίδαλον] Ἥφαιστον Emperius.

[1] A fusion of *Odyssey* 8. 331 and 8. 280.

Although the fleetest of the gods who hold
Olympus, bonds like filmy spider-webs,
Which no man e'en could see.[1]

Then, think not that Ares, god that he was and mighty, was made captive by bonds so delicate and invisible withal, and yet that you yourselves, of all creatures the weakest, could never be made captive by means of bonds that are invisible but only by such as have been well made of steel and brass.[2] Your bodies, to be sure, being solid and for the most part composed of earth,[3] require bonds of that kind to master them; but since soul is invisible and delicate by nature, why might it not get bonds of like description? But you have made for yourselves stubborn, adamantine bonds, contriving them by any and every means, surpassing even Daedalus himself in your craft and in your eagerness to insure that every particle of your soul shall have been fettered and none of it be free or independent. For what were the dungeon of the Cnossians and the crooked windings of the Labyrinth compared to the crookedness and the intricacy of folly? What was the Sicilian prison of the Athenian captives, who were cast into a sort of rocky pit?[4] What was the Ceadas of the Spartans,[5] or the ash-filled room that the Persians

[2] Literally, mountain-copper, mentioned as early as the Hesiodic *Shield of Heracles* (122), the greaves of the hero being of that material.

[3] Possibly an allusion to the tradition that Prometheus formed the human race of clay; cf. Pausanias 10. 4. 4.

[4] After the collapse of the Sicilian Expedition in 413 B.C., the Athenian captives were thrown into the quarries of Syracuse; cf. Thucydides 7. 86-87.

[5] A chasm or ravine into which great criminals were hurled; cf. Thucydides 1. 134 and Pausanias 4. 18. 4.

Πέρσαις οἴκημα μεστὸν τέφρας, ἢ νὴ Δία εἴ τινας[1] κόρας χαλεποὶ πατέρες, ὡς ὁ τῶν ποιητῶν λόγος,

χαλκέων περιβόλων ἐφρούρησαν εἱρκταῖς.

Οὐδ᾿ ἐγὼ[2] νήφειν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἔτι μοι δοκῶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων συμφορῶν μνησθεὶς ἐπὶ πλέον ἢ[3] τῆς αἰσχρᾶς καὶ δυσχεροῦς δουλείας ἣν δεδούλωσθε πάντες· ὅθεν οὐ νημάτων ἔστι λεπτῶν[4] εὐπορήσαντας ἐξελθεῖν βοηθείᾳ κόρης ἄφρονος, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνον Θησέα φασὶν ἐκ Κρήτης σωθῆναι, εἰ μή τι αὐτῆς,[5] οἶμαι, τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς παρισταμένης καὶ σῳζούσης ἅμα. εἰ γὰρ ἐθέλοιμι πάσας εἰπεῖν τὰς εἱρκτὰς καὶ τὰ δεσμὰ τῶν ἀνοήτων[6] τε καὶ ἀθλίων ἀνθρώπων οἷς ἐγκλείσαντες αὑτοὺς ἔχετε,[7] μὴ σφόδρα ὑμῖν ἀπηνής τε καὶ φαῦλος δόξω ποιητής, ἐν οἰκείοις τραγῳδῶν πάθεσιν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον, ὡς οἱ δόξαντες ὑμῖν κακοῦργοι πιεζοῦνται,[8] τραχήλου τε καὶ χειρῶν καὶ ποδῶν, ἀλλὰ γαστρὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μερῶν ἑκάστου[9] ἰδίῳ δεσμῷ τε καὶ ἀνάγκῃ κατειλημμένοι εἰσὶ[10] ποικίλῃ τε καὶ

[1] εἴ τινας Morel : οἵ τινας M, εἴ τινες UB.
[2] οὐδ᾿ ἐγὼ Geel : οὐδέ τῳ.
[3] ἢ Capps : καί.
[4] οὐ νημάτων ἔστι λεπτῶν Casaubon : νημάτων ἐστὶν οὐ λεπτῶν.
[5] εἰ μή τι αὐτῆς Dindorf, ἀλλ᾿ οὐδὲ αὐτῆς Arnim : εἰ μή τις αὐτῆς.
[6] ἀνοήτων Emperius : θνητῶν.
[7] ἔχετε] ἔχουσι Reiske.
[8] πιεζοῦνται] πιέζονται Morel.
[9] ἑκάστου Casaubon : ἕκαστον.

had,[1] or, by Zeus, what were the cruel fathers of certain maidens, who, as the poets tell us,

Immured them in prison cells of encircling bronze ? [2]

But, methinks, I too am no longer acting sensibly in giving more space in my remarks to the misfortunes of mankind than to the disgraceful, odious slavery in which you all have been enslaved, a slavery from which men cannot escape by providing themselves with fine threads by the aid of a foolish maiden, as the famous Theseus is said to have escaped in safety from Crete [3]—at least, I fancy, not unless Athena herself were to lend her aid and join in the rescue. For if I should wish to name all the prisons and the bonds of witless, wretched human beings by means of which you have made yourselves prisoners, possibly you would think me an exceedingly disagreeable and sorry poet for composing tragedies on your own misfortunes.[4] For it is not merely with bonds such as confine those whom you consider criminals—bonds about neck and arms and legs—but with a special bond for the belly and for each of the other parts that they have been made captive, and with a constraint which is both varied and complex ;

[1] Referred to by Ctesias (48, 51, 52).

[2] Attributed by Wilamowitz to Euripides' *Danaë* ; but Sophocles also dealt with the same theme.

[3] Ariadnê, daughter of Minos, gave Theseus the thread by which he made his escape after slaying the Minotaur.

[4] Possibly a reminiscence of the affair of the tragic poet Phrynichus, whom the Athenians fined one thousand drachmas because by his *Capture of Miletus* he had revived their sorrow over the fate of their Ionian kinsmen : cf. Herodotus 6. 21.

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10 *κατειλημμένοι εἰσὶ* Arnim : *κατειλημμένον. οἱ δ' εἰσὶ.*

πολυτρόπῳ[1]· καί μοι δοκεῖ τις ἂν ἰδὼν τῇ[2] ὄψει τερφθῆναί τε καὶ σφόδρα ἄγασθαι τὴν ἐπίνοιαν.

11 Πρώτη μὲν γάρ, οἶμαι, πρὸς ἕκαστον ἔστη[3] δέσποινα χαλεπὴ μὲν ἄλλως καὶ δυσμενὴς καὶ ἐπίβουλος, ἰδεῖν δὲ ἱλαρὰ[4] καὶ μειδιῶσα πρὸς ἅπαντας

σαρδάνιον μάλα τοῖον

καὶ[5] φέρει[6] δεσμὰ κατὰ τὴν αὑτῆς φύσιν εὐανθῆ καὶ μαλακὰ τὴν πρώτην, οἷς[7] εἰκός ἐστι καταδεῖσθαι βασιλεῖς ἢ τυράννους καὶ πάντας[8] ὅσοι μακαρίων παῖδες κέκληνται· τούτων δὲ χαλεπώτερον οὐδὲν οὐδὲ μᾶλλον ἐμφύεται καὶ πιέζει.

12 μετὰ δὲ ταύτην ἦλθεν ἑτέρα, κλοιόν τινα φέρουσα χρυσοῦν ἢ ἀργυροῦν. τοῦτον δὲ περιθεῖσα ἕλκει μὲν ἰδιώτας περὶ πᾶσαν γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, ἕλκει δὲ βασιλεῖς καθ' Ἡσίοδον, σύρει δὲ πόλεων στρατηγοὺς ἐπὶ πύλας, ὥστε ἀνοίγειν καὶ προδιδόναι. φησὶ δὲ κήδεσθαι[9] τούτων οὓς ἂν ἀπολλύῃ, καὶ ποιεῖν εὐδαίμονας· ὥσπερ Ἀστυάγην ποτὲ Κῦρος ἐν χρυσαῖς ἔδησε πέδαις, ὡς ἂν δῆλον ὅτι πάππου κηδόμενος.

13 Πολὺ δ' ἂν ἔργον εἴη διεξιέναι πάσας τὰς ἰδέας

[1] ποικίλῃ τε καὶ πολυτρόπῳ Arnim: ποικίλοι τε καὶ πολύτροποι.
[2] τῇ added by Emperius.
[3] ἕκαστον ἔστη Reiske: ἕκαστόν ἐστι.
[4] ἰδεῖν δὲ ἱλαρὰ Wilamowitz: ἰδεῖν· εἰ δ' ἄρα.
[5] Before καὶ Emperius deletes χαλεπὴ δὲ ἡδονή.
[6] φέρει Geel: φέρειν.
[7] οἷς] οἵοις Arnim.
[8] πάντας Morel: πάντες.
[9] φησὶ δὲ κήδεσθαι Casaubon: φασὶ δὲ καὶ δεῖσθαι.

moreover, I believe that any one who had seen the spectacle would have been delighted by it and would exceedingly admire the conceit.

For first, I fancy, there comes to each a mistress who is in other respects harsh and ill-disposed and treacherous, but in appearance cheerful and with a smile for all,

A smile of portent grim,[1]

and in her hands she bears fetters to match her nature, flowery and soft at first glance, such as those with which one might expect that kings or tyrants and all who have been called "sons of the Blest" have been bound; yet nothing is more grievous than these bonds, nothing clings more closely and exerts more pressure. After her there comes a second, bearing a sort of collar of gold or silver. Having put this about their necks, she drags men in private station around every land and sea, yes, and kings as well, according to Hesiod,[2] and she drags generals of cities to the gates, so as to open them and act the traitor. And yet she professes to be solicitous for these whom she destroys, and to be making them happy—just as once upon a time Cyrus bound Astyages with golden fetters, as being, evidently, solicitous for his grandfather![3]

But it would be a huge undertaking to enumerate

[1] *Odyssey* 20. 302, spoken of Odysseus when he had dodged the ox-hoof hurled at him by Ctesippus.

[2] In his *Works and Days* (38-39 and 263-264) he calls them *δωροφάγοι*.

[3] Herodotus devotes much space (1. 107-129) to the tale of Cyrus and Astyages, but he says nothing of golden fetters. Dio may be hinting that gold was used by Harpagus and Cyrus to corrupt the soldiers of Astyages, who in the final battle were strangely ready to desert.

τῶν δεσμῶν. ἕνα[1] δ' οὖν ἄξιον μὴ παρεῖναι τὸν παραδοξότατον αὐτῶν καὶ ποικιλώτατον, ὃν ἡ χαλεπωτάτη φέρει δέσποινα, χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ παντοίοις λίθοις τε καὶ ψήφοις καὶ ζῴων κέρασι καὶ ὀδοῦσι καὶ ὀστράκοις, ἔτι δὲ ἁλουργέσι βαφαῖς καὶ ἑτέροις μυρίοις τισὶν ὥσπερ ὅρμον πολυτελῆ καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἀσκήσασα καὶ πολλά τινα ἐν αὐτῷ σχήματά τε[2] καὶ μορφὰς μιμησαμένη, στεφάνους τε καὶ σκῆπτρα καὶ τιάρας καὶ θρόνους ὑψηλούς· καθάπερ οἱ περιττοὶ τεχνῖται κλίνας τινὰς ἢ θύρας ἢ ὀροφὰς οἰκιῶν κατασκευάζοντες ἕτερ' ἄττα μηχανῶνται φαίνεσθαι, λέγω δὲ οἷον θυρῶν ἐξοχὰς θηρίων κεφαλαῖς[3] ἀπεικάσαντες
14 καὶ κιόνων ὁμοίως· ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἦχος ἐν τούτῳ καὶ φωνὴ παντοία κρότων τε καὶ ποππυσμῶν.[4] πάλιν οὖν τοῦτον περιβάλλει δημαγωγοῖς τε καὶ βασιλεῦσιν. ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ πόρρω που αὐτοὶ φερώμεθα ὑπὸ τῆς εἰκόνος, ὥσπερ ὄντως εἰδώλῳ τινὶ λόγου ἐπακολουθοῦντες, ὡς Ὅμηρος Ἀχιλλέα ἐποίησε τῷ τοῦ Ἀγήνορος[5] ἑπόμενον μακρὰν ἀπελθεῖν. ἱκανῶς ἔχει.

[1] ἕνα Morel : ἔνθα.
[2] σχήματά τε Wyttenbach : ὀχήματά τε UB, ὄχημα τε M.
[3] κεφαλαῖς Reiske : κεφαλάς.
[4] After ποππυσμῶν Emperius deletes καὶ ἠχεῖ ταῦτα τὰ δεσμά.
[5] Ἀγήνορος Morel : ἀντήνορος.

all the varieties of the fetters. Still, one variety deserves not to be overlooked, the most amazing of them all and the most complicated, one carried by the harshest mistress, a combination of gold and silver and all sorts of stones and pebbles and horns and tusks and shells of animals and, furthermore, purple dyes and countless other things, a sort of costly, marvellous necklace which she had contrived, imitating in it many patterns and forms—crowns and sceptres and diadems and lofty thrones—just as the over-subtle craftsmen in fashioning certain couches or doors or ceilings of houses contrive to make them appear something different from what they are ; I mean, for example, making bosses on doors resemble heads of animals, and likewise with bosses on columns. And, furthermore, in this collar are found noise and sound of every kind, both of clapping hands and of clucking tongues.[1] So this collar, in turn, is placed about the necks of both demagogues and kings. But let us not ourselves be carried along too far by our simile, as if actually following a word-phantom, as Homer caused Achilles to go a long way off in following the phantom of Agenor.[2] This will suffice.

[1] The word ποππυσμός signified the noise Greeks made with their lips to express surprise and admiration.
[2] *Iliad* 21. 595-605.

# ENCOMIUM ON HAIR

This short composition—preserved embedded in Synesius' *Encomium on Baldness*—like Dio's *Praise of the Gnat* and *Praise of the Parrot*, whose titles alone have come down to us, is clearly a sophistic exercise. Its opening sentence bears some resemblance to the proem of Or. 52 and might suggest as the time of its composition the same general period in Dio's career. The abruptness with which the composition closes is indeed striking, and that, together with what has been regarded as rather inadequate handling of an attractive theme, has led to the supposition that we have but a fragment of the original work. However, Synesius seems to view it as complete and himself remarks that "it does not contain many lines."

Synesius was born at Cyrenê about A.D. 370 and cannot be traced beyond the year 413. He was a pupil of the learned Hypatia at Alexandria, and we are told that he inherited a library from his father. His interest in Dio Chrysostom is attested, not only by his *Encomium on Baldness*, but also by reminiscences of Dio in a speech delivered at Constantinople about the year 400 and by his *Dio*, composed about five years later, a considerable portion of which will be found on pages 365-387.

# ΔΙΩΝΟΣ ΚΟΜΗΣ ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ

Ex Synesii Encomio Calvitii pp. 63 sqq. Petav.

Δίωνι τῷ χρυσῷ τὴν γλῶτταν ἐποιήθη βιβλίον, Κόμης Ἐγκώμιον, οὕτω δή τι λαμπρὸν ὡς ἀνάγκην εἶναι παρὰ τοῦ λόγου φαλακρὸν ἄνδρα αἰσχύνεσθαι. συνεπιτίθεται γὰρ ὁ λόγος τῇ φύσει· φύσει δὲ ἅπαντες ἐθέλομεν εἶναι καλοί, πρὸς ὃ μέγα μέρος αἱ τρίχες συμβάλλονται, αἷς ἡμᾶς ἐκ παίδων ἡ φύσις ᾠκείωσεν. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν καὶ ὁπηνίκα τὸ δεινὸν ἤρχετο καὶ θρὶξ ἀπερρύη μέσην αὐτὴν δέδηγμαι τὴν καρδίαν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ προσέκειτο μᾶλλον, ἄλλης ἐπ᾽ ἄλλῃ πιπτούσης, ἤδη δὲ καὶ σύνδυο καὶ κατὰ πλείους καὶ ὁ πόλεμος λαμπρὸς ἦν, ἀγομένης καὶ φερομένης τῆς κεφαλῆς, τότε δὴ τότε χαλεπώτερα πάσχειν ᾤμην ἢ ὑπ᾽ Ἀρχιδάμου τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ τῇ δενδροτομίᾳ τῶν Ἀχαρνῶν, ταχύ τε ἀπεδείχθην ἀνεπιτήδευτος Εὐβοεύς, οὓς ὄπιθεν κομόωντας ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Τροίαν ἡ ποίησις.

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[1] Acharnae, largest of the Attic demes, situated about seven miles north of Athens, suffered severely in the first year of the Peloponnesian War (431 B.C.). Thucydides (2. 19-22) records that the Spartan king Archidamus camped there for some time and laid waste the countryside. Aristophanes in his *Acharnians* mentions especially the destruction of the vineyards.

# ENCOMIUM ON HAIR

Synesius' *Encomium on Baldness*: Dio of the golden tongue has composed a discourse entitled *An Encomium on Hair*, which is a work of such brilliance that the inevitable result of the speech is to make a bald man feel ashamed. For the speech joins forces with nature; and by nature we all desire to be beautiful, an ambition whose realization is greatly assisted by the hair to which from boyhood nature has accustomed us. In my own case, for example, even when the dreadful plague was just beginning and a hair fell off, I was smitten to my inmost heart, and when the attack was pressed with greater vigour, hair after hair dropping out, and ultimately even two or three together, and the war was being waged with fury, my head becoming utterly ravaged, then indeed I thought myself to be the victim of more grievous injury than the Athenians suffered at the hands of Archidamus when he cut down the trees of the Acharnians,[1] and presently, without my so intending, I was turned into a Euboean, one of the tribe which the poet marshalled against Troy "with flowing locks behind."[2]

[2] *Iliad* 2. 542: τῷ δ' ἅμ' Ἄβαντες ἕποντο θοοί, ὄπιθεν κομόωντες. The peculiarity here referred to consisted not in wearing long hair—the Achaeans frequently are termed κάρη κομόωντες—but in shaving all but the back hair. This, of course, is the point in Synesius' allusion.

Ἐν ᾧ τίνα μὲν θεῶν, τίνα δὲ δαιμόνων παρῆλθον ἀκατηγόρητον; ἐπεθέμην δὲ καὶ Ἐπικούρου τι γράφειν ἐγκώμιον, οὐ κατὰ ταὐτὰ περὶ θεῶν διακείμενος, ἀλλ' ὡς ὅ τι κἀγὼ δυναίμην ἀντιδηξόμενος. ἔλεγον γὰρ ὅτι ποῦ τὰ τῆς προνοίας ἐν τῷ παρ' ἀξίαν ἑκάστου; καὶ τί γὰρ ἀδικῶν ἐγὼ φανοῦμαι ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἀειδέστερος; οὐ δεινὸν εἰ ταῖς ἐκ γειτόνων· τὰ γὰρ εἰς Ἀφροδίτην ἐγὼ δικαιότατος κἂν τῷ Βελλεροφόντῃ σωφροσύνης ἀμφισβητήσαιμι. ἀλλὰ καὶ μήτηρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀδελφαί, φασί, τῷ κάλλει τι νέμουσι τῶν ἀρρένων. ἐδήλωσε δὲ ἡ Παρύσατις, Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν βασιλέα διὰ Κῦρον τὸν καλὸν ἀποστέρξασα.

Ταῦτ' ἄρα ἐποτνιώμην, καὶ μικρὸν οὐδὲν ἐπενόουν περὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὅ τε χρόνος αὐτὴν συνηθεστέραν ἐποίησε καὶ ὁ λόγος ἀντεισιὼν κατεξανέστη τοῦ πάθους, τὸ δὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπεξίστατο, ἤδη διὰ ταῦτα ῥᾷων ἦν καὶ ἀνέφερον· νυνὶ δὲ ἀνθυπήνεγκεν αὐτὸ ῥεῦμα ἕτερον οὗτος αὐτὸς ὁ Δίων, καὶ ἐπανήκει μοι μετὰ συνηγόρου. πρὸς δύο δέ, φησὶν ὁ λόγος, οὐδ' Ἡρακλῆς, εἰ τοὺς Μολιονίδας ἐκ λόχου προσπεσόντας οὐκ

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[1] While not denying the existence of gods, Epicurus held that they dwelt far off and had no concern for mortals.

[2] The Bellerophon story appears for the first time in *Iliad* 6. 156-195. It is the Greek counterpart of the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife.

[3] Parysatis, wife of Darius II, was the mother of Artaxerxes and Cyrus. Xenophon states (*Anabasis* 1. 1. 4) that she loved Cyrus more than Artaxerxes, but he does not tell why. One might conclude from his obituary of Cyrus (*op. cit.* 1. 9) that character rather than physical beauty determined her preference.

At this stage what god, what spirit, did I pass by without arraignment? I even set myself to composing a eulogy of Epicurus, not that I held the same views about the gods as he,[1] but rather because I aimed to make them smart for it to the best of my poor powers. For I said, "Where are the tokens of their providence in their treating the individual contrary to his deserts? For what crime of mine dooms me to appear less comely in women's eyes? It is nothing terrible if I am to appear so to the women of the neighbourhood—for so far as love is concerned I might with fullest justice lay claim to the prize for continence, even against Bellerophon[2]—but even a mother, yes, even sisters, I am told, attach some importance to the beauty of their men. And Parysatis made this plain by growing cold toward Artaxerxes who was king because of Cyrus who was beautiful."[3]

Thus, then, I cried aloud in indignation, and I made no light matter of my misfortune. But when time had made it more familiar and reason, too, entering as contender, rose up to give battle against my suffering, and when little by little that suffering was yielding ground, then at last for these reasons I was more at ease and beginning to recover; but now this very Dio has caused the flood of my distress to flow afresh, and it has returned to attack me in company with an advocate. But against two adversaries, as the saying is, not even Heracles could contend, since when the Molionidae[4] fell upon him from

[4] Eurytus and Cteatus, sons of Molionê and Poseidon and nephews of Augeas, who was responsible for their conflict with Heracles. According to Pindar, *Olymp.* 10. 29-38, Heracles attacked from ambush and slew them both.

ἤνεγκεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ὕδραν ἀγωνιζόμενος, τέως μὲν εἷς ἑνὶ συνειστήκεσαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ καρκίνος αὐτῇ παρεγένετο, κἂν ἀπεῖπεν, εἰ μὴ τὴν Ἰόλεω συμμαχίαν ἀντεπηγάγετο. κἀγώ μοι δοκῶ παραπλήσιόν τι παθεῖν ὑπὸ Δίωνος, οὐκ ἔχων ἀδελφιδοῦν τὸν Ἰόλεων. πάλιν οὖν ἐκλαθόμενος ἐμαυτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν λογισμῶν ἐλεγεῖα ποιῶ, θρηνῶν ἐπὶ τῇ κόμῃ.

Σὺ δὲ ἐπειδὴ φαλακρῶν μὲν ὁ κράτιστος εἶ, δοκεῖς δέ τις εἶναι γεννάδας, ὃς οὐδὲ ἐμπάζει τῆς συμφορᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅταν ἔτνους προκειμένου μετώπων ἐξέτασις γίνηται, σαυτὸν ἐπιλέγεις, ὡς ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ δή τινι φιλοτιμούμενος, οὐκοῦν ἀνάσχου τοῦ λόγου, καὶ τήρησον ἐν πείσῃ, φασί, τὴν καρδίαν, ὥσπερ ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς πρὸς τὴν ἀναγωγίαν τῶν γυναικῶν ἀνέκπληκτος ἔμεινε· καὶ σὺ πειρῶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ τούτου παθεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν δύναιο. τί φῄς; καὶ μὴν δυνήσει; τοιγαροῦν ἄκουε. δεῖ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐξελίττειν τὸ βιβλίον, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐρῶ. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ πολύστιχόν ἐστι. γλαφυρὸν μέντοι, καὶ τὸ κάλλος αὐτοῦ προσιζάνει τῇ μνήμῃ, ὥστε οὐδὲ βουλόμενον ἐπιλαθέσθαι με οἷόν τε.

"Ἀναστὰς ἕωθεν καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς προσειπὼν ὅπερ εἴωθα, ἐπεμελούμην τῆς κόμης· καὶ γὰρ ἐτύγχανον μαλακώτερον τὸ σῶμα ἔχων· ἡ δὲ ἠμέλητο ἐκ πλείονος. πάνυ γοῦν συνέστραπτο καὶ συνεπέπλεκτο τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῆς, οἷον τῶν οἰῶν

[1] Apparently for the purpose of deciding, on the basis of age, who should help himself first.

[2] A reminiscence of *Odyssey* 20. 23, τῷ δὲ μάλ' ἐν πείσῃ κραδίη μένε τετληκυῖα, referring to the behaviour of Odysseus as he noted with irritation that his maidservants were on their way to meet their lovers among the suitors.

ambush he did not endure the attack. Nay, even in his struggle with the Hydra, though for a time they were locked in single combat, yet when the crab came to her aid Heracles might even have cried quits, had he not enlisted Iolaüs against them as ally. I too, methinks, have had much the same experience at the hands of Dio, though I have no nephew Iolaüs. Once more, therefore, quite forgetful of myself and my reasonings, I am composing laments, mourning my lost head of hair.

But since you are the most excellent of bald-heads and are apparently a man of mettle, seeing that you do not even give a thought to your misfortune but, when pease porridge has been served and an inspection of foreheads is in progress,[1] even call attention to yourself, as if priding yourself, forsooth, upon some blessing, therefore endure with patience Dio's discourse and, as the saying goes, keep your heart in obedience,[2] just as Odysseus when confronted with the misconduct of the women remained undaunted; so do you too endeavour to be undismayed by Dio. Ah, but you couldn't. What's that you say? You will indeed be able? Well then, listen. But there is no need to unroll the parchment; instead I will recite the speech myself. For in fact it does not contain many lines; yet it is a polished composition, and its beauty lingers in my memory, so that not even if I wished to do so could I forget.

Dio's *Encomium on Hair*: "Having arisen at dawn and having addressed the gods, as is my wont, I proceeded to attend to my hair; for in truth my health, as it happened, was rather feeble and my hair had been too long neglected. At any rate, most of it had become quite matted and tangled, as happens

τὰ περὶ τοῖς σκέλεσιν αἰωρούμενα· πολὺ δὲ ταῦτα σκληρότερα ὡς ἂν ἐκ λεπτοτέρων συμπεπλεγμένα τῶν τριχῶν.

"Ἦν οὖν ὀφθῆναί τε ἀγρία ἡ κόμη καὶ βαρεῖα, μόλις δὲ διελύετο καὶ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῆς ἀπεσπᾶτο καὶ διετείνετο. οὐκοῦν ἐπῄει μοι τοὺς φιλοκόμους ἐπαινεῖν, οἳ φιλόκαλοι ὄντες καὶ τὰς κόμας περὶ πλείστου ποιούμενοι ἐπιμελοῦνται οὐ ῥᾳθύμως, ἀλλὰ κάλαμόν τινα ἔχουσιν ἀεὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ κόμῃ, ᾧ ξαίνουσιν αὐτήν, ὅταν σχολὴν ἄγωσι· καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ χαλεπώτατον, χαμαὶ κοιμώμενοι φυλάττουσιν ὅπως μηδέποτε ἅψωνται τῆς γῆς, ὑπερείδοντες ὑπὸ τὴν κεφαλὴν μικρὸν ξύλον, ὅπως ἀπέχῃ τῆς γῆς ὡς πλεῖστον, καὶ μᾶλλον φροντίζουσι τοῦ καθαρὰν φέρειν τὴν κόμην ἢ τοῦ ἡδέως καθεύδειν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ καλούς τε καὶ φοβεροὺς ἔοικε ποιεῖν, ὁ δὲ ὕπνος, κἂν πάνυ ἡδὺς ᾖ, βραδεῖς τε καὶ ἀφυλάκτους.

"Δοκοῦσι δέ μοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὴ ἀμελεῖν τοῦ τοιούτου πράγματος, οἳ τότε ἥκοντες πρὸ τῆς μάχης τῆς μεγάλης τε καὶ δεινῆς, ὅτε μόνοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔμελλον δέχεσθαι βασιλέα, τριακόσιοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες, ἐκάθηντο ἀσκοῦντες τὰς κόμας. δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ Ὅμηρος πλείστης ἐπιμελείας ἀξιοῦν τὸ τοιοῦτον. ἀπό γε μὲν ὀφθαλμῶν οὐ πολλάκις ἐπαινεῖ τοὺς καλούς, οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τούτου μάλιστα ἡγεῖται τὸ κάλλος ἐπιδείξειν. οὐδενὸς οὖν τῶν ἡρώων ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐγκωμιάζει ἢ Ἀγα-

[1] Herodotus (7. 208) relates that a Persian scout, sent to spy out the Greek camp before the battle of Thermopylae, was amazed to find some of the Spartans combing their hair.

with the knots of wool that dangle about the legs of sheep—though these, of course, are far more stubborn, having been twisted together out of strands that are finer.

"Well, my hair was a wild and grievous sight to behold, and it was proving difficult to get it loosened up, and most of it threatened to tear out and resisted my efforts. Accordingly it occurred to me to praise the hair-lovers, who, being beauty-lovers and prizing their locks most of all, attend to them in no casual manner, but keep a sort of reed always in the hair itself, wherewith they comb it whenever they are at leisure ; moreover—the most unpleasant thing of all—while sleeping on the ground they are careful never to let their hair touch the earth, placing a small prop of wood beneath their head so as to keep it as far as possible from the earth, and they are more concerned to keep their hair clean than they are to enjoy sweet sleep. The reason, it would seem, is that hair makes them both beautiful and at the same time terrifying, while sleep, however sweet it be, makes them both sluggish and devoid of caution.

"And it seems to me that the Spartans, too, do not disregard a matter of such importance, for on that memorable occasion, on their arrival before the great and terrible battle, at a time when they alone among the Greeks were to withstand the attack of the Great King, three hundred in number as they were, they sat down and dressed their locks.[1] And Homer, too, methinks, believed that sort of thing deserved fullest attention. At least he does not often praise his beauties for their eyes, nor does he think that by so doing he will best set forth their beauty. Accordingly, he praises the eyes of none of his heroes

μέμνονος, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα ἐπαινεῖ αὐτοῦ· καὶ οὐ μόνον τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἑλίκωπας καλεῖ· ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἧττον καὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα τὸ κοινὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κόμης πάντας· πρῶτον μὲν Ἀχιλλέα,

ξανθῆς δὲ κόμης ἕλε Πηλείωνα·

ἔπειτα Μενέλαον ξανθὸν ἐπονομάζων ἀπὸ τῆς κόμης· τῆς δὲ Ἕκτορος χαίτης μέμνηται,

ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται
κυάνεαι πεφόρηντο.

Εὐφόρβου γε μὴν τοῦ καλλίστου τῶν Τρώων ἀποθανόντος οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὠδύρετο λέγων,

αἵματί οἱ δεύοντο κόμαι Χαρίτεσσιν ὁμοῖαι,
πλοχμοί θ' οἳ χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ ἐσφήκωντο·

καὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα ὅταν ἐθέλῃ καλὸν γεγονότα ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπιδεῖξαι· φησὶ γοῦν,

κυάνεαι δ' ἐγένοντο ἔθειραι.

πάλιν δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ,

κὰδ δὲ κάρητος
οὔλας ἧκε κόμας, ὑακινθίνῳ ἄνθει ὁμοίας.

"Καὶ πρέπειν γε μᾶλλον τοῖς ἀνδράσι φαίνεται καθ' Ὅμηρον ὁ κόσμος ὁ τῶν τριχῶν ἢ ταῖς

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[1] *Iliad* 2. 478-479: ὄμματα καὶ κεφαλὴν ἴκελος Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ, Ἄρεϊ δὲ ζώνην, στέρνον δὲ Ποσειδάωνι, "in eyes and head like unto Zeus who delights in the thunder, in waist to Ares, in chest to Poseidon."

[2] *Iliad* 1. 197. Athena checks Achilles' rage.

[3] One of the commonest epithets applied to Menelaüs.

[4] *Iliad* 22. 401-402.

except Agamemnon, just as he praises the rest of his body also[1]; moreover, he applies the term 'flashing-eyed,' not to the Greeks alone, but just as much to Agamemnon himself, using the epithet common to the Greeks in general; on the other hand, he praises everybody for his hair. First of all take Achilles, of whom he says,

> She seized Peleides by his flaxen hair,[2]

then Menelaüs, whom he calls 'blonde'[3] for his hair. And Hector's hair he mentions in these words,

> And all about his blue-black tresses swept.[4]

Indeed, on the death of Euphorbus, the most beautiful of the Trojans, Homer mourned nothing else of his, for he said,

> His locks, so like the Graces', were wet with blood,
> His braids with gold and silver tightly claspt.[5]

The same is true of Odysseus, when the poet wishes to exhibit him rendered beautiful by Athena; at any rate he says,

> Blue-black his locks had grown.[6]

And again of the same person,

> Down from his head she caused the curly locks
> To fall, like bloom of hyacinth.[7]

"Moreover, the adornment afforded by the hair, to judge by Homer, seems to be more suited to the men

[5] *Ibid.* 17. 51-52.

[6] Dio must have *Odyssey* 16. 176 in mind, but he has substituted ἔθειραι for γενειάδες (beard). Odysseus' hair was blonde; cf. *Odyssey* 13. 399.

[7] *Odyssey* 6. 230-231.

γυναιξί. γυναικῶν γοῦν περὶ κάλλους διεξιὼν οὐ τοσαυτάκις φαίνεται κόμης μεμνημένος· ἐπεί τοι καὶ τῶν θεῶν τὰς μὲν θηλείας ἄλλως ἐπαινεῖ—χρυσῆν γὰρ Ἀφροδίτην καὶ βοῶπιν Ἥραν καὶ Θέτιν ἀργυρόπεζαν—τοῦ Διὸς δὲ μάλιστα ἐπαινεῖ τὰς χαίτας·

ἀμβρόσιαι δ' ἄρα χαῖται ἐπερρώσαντο ἄνακτος."

Ταυτὶ μέν σοι τὰ Δίωνος.

than to the women. At any rate, when descanting on feminine beauty, he is not found to mention hair so often; for even with the gods he praises the female deities in different fashion—for it is ' golden Aphroditê ' and ' great-eyed Hera ' and ' Thetis of the silver feet '—but with Zeus he praises most of all his hair:

And toward her streamed the god's ambrosial locks."[1]

There you have the words of Dio.

[1] *Iliad* 1. 529.

# FRAGMENTS

*We are indebted for the following brief fragments to the anthologies of Stobaeus* (c. A.D. *450*) *and Maximus the Confessor* (*A.D. 580–662*). *Stobaeus names as his sources two works nowhere else listed under the name of Dio, namely,* Sayings *and* Domestic Affairs*; Maximus does not tell us the titles of the works from which he drew his quotations. It is manifest that our manuscripts of Dio have preserved for us only a portion of Dio's writings, and the* Sayings *was probably a compilation made by an admirer of Dio, who drew upon works now lost. At all events, both Stobaeus and Maximus bear witness to the enduring fame and influence of our author.*

# DIONIS FRAGMENTA

## I. Stob. Flor. 3, VII 28 p. 316 Hense (VII 29 Meineke).

Ἐκ τῶν Δίωνος Χρειῶν·

Λάκαινα γυνὴ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῆς ἐν παρατάξει χωλωθέντος καὶ δυσφοροῦντος ἐπὶ τούτῳ, Μὴ λυποῦ, τέκνον, εἶπεν· καθ' ἕκαστον γὰρ βῆμα τῆς ἰδίας ἀρετῆς ὑπομνησθήσῃ.

## II. Stob. Flor. 3, XIII 42 p. 462 Hense (XIII 24 Mein.).

Ἐκ τῶν Δίωνος Χρειῶν·

Τὴν ἐπιτίμησιν ὁ Διογένης ἀλλότριον ἀγαθὸν ἔλεγεν εἶναι.

## III. Stob. Flor. 3, XXXIV 16 p. 686 Hense (XXXIV 16 Mein.).

Ἐκ τῶν Δίωνος Χρειῶν·

Τῶν συνόντων τις μειρακίων Διογένει ἐρωτώμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐσιώπα. ὁ δὲ ἔφη, Οὐκ οἴει τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἶναι εἰδέναι ἅ τε λεκτέον καὶ πότε καὶ τίνα σιωπητέον καὶ πρὸς τίνα;

# FRAGMENTS

## SAYINGS

1. A Spartan woman, when her son had been lamed on the field of battle and was chafing on that account, remarked, " Grieve not, my child, for at every step you will be reminded of your own valour."

2. " Reproof," Diogenes was wont to say, " is another's blessing."

3. One of the youths who were disciples of Diogenes, when questioned by him, remained silent. But Diogenes remarked, " Do you not believe that it is to be expected of the same man that he should know, not only what he should say and when, but also what he should refrain from saying and before whom ? "

IV. Stob. Flor. 3, XLII 12 p. 762 Hense (XLII 12 Mein.).

Δίωνος ἐκ τοῦ Οἰκονομικοῦ·

Ἀρξόμεθα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ μάλιστα ὠφελοῦντος οἰκίαν· εἴη δ᾽ ἂν τοῦτο ἐπιτίμησις διαβολῆς· διαβολὴ γὰρ κακῶν τὸ ὀξύτατον καὶ ἐπιβουλότατον.

V. Stob. Flor. 4, XIX 46 p. 430 Hense (LXII 46 Mein.).

Δίωνος ἐκ τοῦ Οἰκονομικοῦ·

Χρὴ οὖν δεσπόζειν ἐπιεικῶς καὶ ἀνεθῆναί ποτε βουλομένοις ἐπιτρέπειν. αἱ γὰρ ἀνέσεις παρασκευαστικαὶ πόνων εἰσί, καὶ τόξον καὶ λύρα καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἀκμάζει δι᾽ ἀναπαύσεως.

VI. Stob. Flor. 4, XXIII 59 p. 588 Hense (LXXIV 59 Mein.).

Δίωνος ἐκ τοῦ Οἰκονομικοῦ·

Εὐσέβεια δὲ γυναικεία ὁ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα ἔρως.

VII. Stob. Flor. 4, XXIII 60 p. 588 Hense (LXXIV 60 Mein.).

Ἐν ταὐτῷ·

Γέλως δὲ συνεχὴς καὶ μέγας θυμοῦ κακίων· διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα ἑταίραις ἀκμάζων καὶ παίδων τοῖς ἀφρονεστέροις. ἐγὼ δὲ κοσμεῖσθαι πρόσωπον ὑπὸ δακρύων ἡγοῦμαι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ γέλωτος. δάκρυσι μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον σύνεστι καὶ μάθημά που χρηστόν, γέλωτι δὲ ἀκολασία. καὶ κλάων μὲν οὐδεὶς προυτρέψατο ὑβριστήν, γελῶν δὲ ηὔξησεν αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐλπίδας.

## DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

1. We shall begin with that which especially benefits a household; and that would be reproof of slander, for slander is the most painful of all evils and the most insidious.

2. Therefore one ought to act the master with moderation and permit any who so desire to relax at times. For intervals of relaxation are preparatory for labours—both bow and lyre and men as well are at their best through relaxation.

3. But wifely piety is love of husband.

4. But laughter which is continuous and boisterous is worse than anger; therefore it abounds especially among courtesans and the more foolish of children. As for myself, I hold that a face is adorned by tears more than by laughter. For with tears as a rule there is associated some profitable lesson, but with laughter licence. Moreover, by tears no one gives encouragement to a licentious person, whereas by laughter one fosters his expectations.

VIII. Stob. Flor. 4, XXVIII 12 p. 679 Hense (LXXXV 12 Mein.).

Δίωνος ἐκ τοῦ Οἰκονομικοῦ·
Μέγα γὰρ δυσώπημα σωφροσύνης τέκνωσις.

IX. Stob. Flor. 4, XXVIII 13 p. 679 Hense (LXXXV 13 Mein.).

Ἐν ταὐτῷ·
Τὸ μὲν γὰρ τίκτειν ἀνάγκης ἐστὶν ἔργον, τὸ δὲ ἐκτρέφειν φιλοστοργίας.

X. Maxim. Flor. (Vatic. gr. 397 f. 81ᵇ).

Δίωνος τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου·
Πῶς οὐ δεινὸν τοῖς μὲν θεοῖς ἐνοχλεῖν, αὐτοὺς δὲ μὴ βούλεσθαι πράττειν ἅ γε ἐφ' ἡμῖν εἶναι δοκεῖ τοῖς θεοῖς.

XI. Maxim. Flor. (Vatic. gr. 397 f. 159ᵇ).

Δίωνος τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου·
Κινδύνων ἐλπὶς ἄνευ κινδύνων τίθησι τὸν ἐλπίζοντα τῷ προησφαλίσθαι τῶν δυσχερῶν τῇ δοκήσει τὰ πράγματα.

XII. Maxim. Flor. (Vatic. gr. 739 f. 217ᵃ).

Δίωνος τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου·
Πονηρίαν γὰρ ἀρχομένην μὲν κωλῦσαι τάχα τις κολάζων ἂν[1] δυνηθείη· ἐγκαταγεγηρακυῖαν δὲ καὶ γεγενημένην τῶν εἰθισμένων διὰ[2] τιμωριῶν ἀδύνατον εἶναι λέγουσιν.

5. For great humiliation is the engendering of self-control.

6. For while the begetting of offspring is an act of necessity, their rearing is an act of love.

## MISCELLANEOUS

1. Surely it is shocking to importune the gods and yet to be unwilling ourselves to do the things which by the gods' decree are in our power.

2. Expectation of dangers exempts from dangers him who expects them, since his affairs are made secure beforehand by reason of his anticipation of the difficulties.

3. For though wickedness, when incipient, might possibly be checked by repression, when chronic and established as a thing to which we have grown accustomed, it cannot, they say, be checked through penalties.

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[1] ἂν added by Arnim.
[2] διὰ added by Crosby, κρατῆσαι διά τινων ἐπικειμένων Arnim.

# LETTERS

*Five letters included by Hercher in his* Epistolograph Graeci, *page 259, have been associated with the name of Dio. Their contents afford no sure clue as to authorship, but there seems to be no good reason for refusing to attribute them to Dio. The Rufus to whom the first two are addressed may have been the Musonius Rufus who was the only philosopher at Rome to escape the wrath of Vespasian in the expulsions of* A.D. *71. In a writing no longer extant,* πρὸς Μουσώνιον, *Dio seems to have made him the recipient of a violent attack upon the philosophers of that day, but if the unstinted commendation of an unnamed philosopher bestowed by Dio in his* Rhodian Discourse (§ *122) refers to Musonius, as is generally believed, Dio clearly either had never borne him any malice or else had repented of it. It may very well be that friendship for Musonius was at least partially responsible for Dio's conversion to philosophy. As for the identity of the persons to whom the other letters are addressed, it seems idle to speculate, since neither the letters themselves nor any external evidence affords a clue.*

# ΔΙΩΝΟΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ

## α΄. Ῥούφῳ

Συνίστημί σοι τὸν φέροντα τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἄνδρα πράγματα μὲν ἔχοντα δι᾽ ἀντιδίκου φιλονεικίαν, αὐτὸν δὲ τοῖς φίλοις παρέχειν οὐ βουλόμενον. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τἄλλα οἷον ἂν σὺ ἐπαινέσειας, μέτριος καὶ ἐπιεικής· τὸ γὰρ τοῦ γένους καὶ πολιτικοῦ ἀξιώματος οὐδ᾽ οἶμαί[1] σε δεῖσθαι πυνθάνεσθαι, καὶ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα αὐτῷ ὑπάρχει.

## β΄. Ῥούφῳ

Ἑρέννιον[2] τὸν ἐμὸν ἑταῖρον φθάνεις μὲν ἐπιστάμενος, οὔπω δὲ ἱκανῶς, ὅσον ἐγὼ βούλομαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ νῦν ἂν δυναίμην ἴσως εἰπεῖν ἅπαντα τὰ προσόντα αὐτῷ. τοσαῦτα μέντοι ἄξιον αὐτὸν μαρτυρῆσαι, ὡς καὶ γέγονεν ἡμῖν ἐκ πλείονος φίλος καὶ[3] πεῖραν ἤδη τῷ χρόνῳ δέδωκε, καὶ περὶ τοὺς λόγους πρότερον μὲν ἐζήλωσε, νῦν δὲ καὶ ὑπερεβάλετο. ἔστι γὰρ ῥήτωρ ἀγαθός, ἔτι δ᾽ ἂν γένοιτο βελτίων σοὶ συνὼν καὶ ὑπὸ σοῦ προαγόμενος. σὺ δέ μοι[4] πολλὰ περὶ πολλῶν χαριζόμενος

[1] οὐδ᾽ οἶμαί Emperius : οὐ δέομαί.
[2] Ἑρέννιον Hercher, Τερέντιον Emperius : Τερένιον.
[3] καὶ Crosby, ὥστε Emperius : καὶ ὅσα.
[4] After μοι Crosby deletes τὰ.

# LETTERS

## 1. *To Rufus*

The bearer of the letter I introduce to you as a man who, though in trouble because of an adversary's contentiousness, does not himself wish to make trouble for his friends. Moreover, in all other respects as well he is the kind of man you would approve—moderate and reasonable; as for his birth and social standing, I think you need not even inquire, for he has those requisites to commend him also.

## 2. *To Rufus*

You already are acquainted with my good friend Herennius, though not yet sufficiently, not to the extent that I desire. In fact, I could not even now, perhaps, tell all his attributes. This much, however, it is fitting that I myself should testify: not only has he been a friend of mine for some time, but also he has stood the test of time. Besides, though he had been a devoted student of the art of public speaking previously, now he has actually surpassed himself. For in truth he is an excellent orator, but he might become still better through association with you and through your guidance. But though you do me many favours in many matters, you

ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἂν χαρίζοιο καὶ Ἑρέννιον[1] σαυτοῦ νομίζων.

γʹ. Εὐσεβίῳ

Παρόντα σε βλέπειν οἴομαι ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἐντυγχάνων αἷς ἐπιστέλλεις, ὥστ᾽ εἰ γράφοις μοι συνεχέστερον ἥκιστ᾽ ἂν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ δυσχεραίνοιμι.

δʹ. τῷ αὐτῷ

Ἀνιαρὰ μὲν εἶναι τὰ συμβάντα Δρακοντίῳ[2] καὶ κακῶν ἔσχατα[3] τίς οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογήσειεν, ἀνθρώπινα δὲ καὶ πολλοῖς ἤδη γεγενημένα. διὸ καρτερεῖν μὲν ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνοις ἀνάγκη καὶ φέρειν ἑκόντα[4]· δεῖ γάρ, κεἰ ἄλλως ἔχοι,[5] κεἰ σφόδρα τοῦ πάθους ἡττῷτο,[6] ὑπὲρ τῶν ὄντων ὁρᾶν ὀρθῶς, ἵνα μὴ[7] τὰς μὲν συμφορὰς ἄριστα διηνυκέναι δοκῇ,[8] περὶ δὲ τοῦ ζῶντος οὐκ[9] ἄριστα φρονεῖν.

εʹ. Σαβινιανῷ[10]

Οὐκ ὄκνῳ τοῦ γράφειν οὐδ᾽ ὑπεροψίᾳ τινὶ σεσιώπηταί μοι τὰ πρότερον. καί σοι ἂν ὡμολόγουν[11]

[1] Ἑρέννιον Hercher, Τερέντιον Emperius : Τερένιον.
[2] Δρακοντίῳ Hercher, Δράκοντι Emperius : δράκοντα.
[3] ἔσχατα Emperius : ἔσχοντα.
[4] ἑκόντα Emperius : ἑκόντας.
[5] κεἰ . . . ἔχοι Emperius, κἂν . . . ἔχῃς Hercher : κἂν . . . ἔχοι.
[6] κεἰ . . . ἡττῷτο Emperius, κἂν . . . ἡττᾷ Hercher : κἂν . . . ἡττῷτο.
[7] μὴ added by Hercher.
[8] δοκῇ] δοκῇς Hercher.

would favour me especially if you would consider Herennius, too, a friend of yours.

### 3. *To Eusebius*

I FANCY that I am beholding your very presence when I read the letters you send me, and so if you were to write me more often, I should be least vexed at your absence.

### 4. *To the same*

THE misfortunes which have befallen Dracontius are, to be sure, painful and evil in the extreme, as every one would admit, and yet they are such as mankind is subject to and as have ere now befallen many. Wherefore he must be steadfast in those tribulations and endure them with set purpose. For even if conditions should be otherwise, even if he should be exceedingly overcome by his experience, he must maintain a correct view regarding the facts, lest he be thought to have come through his misfortunes most nobly and yet not be most nobly minded regarding the living.

### 5. *To Sabinianus*

NOT because of reluctance to write or because of any disdain have I hitherto kept silence. And I

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[9] *οὐκ* omitted by Emperius.
[10] Σαβινιανῷ Boissonadiana: Σασιανῷ, Σαβιανῷ, or Σταβιανῷ.
[11] *ὡμολόγουν* Hercher: *ὡμολογούμην* or *ὁμολογούμενον*.

εἶναι σχετλιώτατος ἀνθρώπων, εἰ τέχνῃ μὲν τὸ λέγειν ἀσκήσας ἐπιστέλλειν οὐκ ἐβουλόμην, ἠμέλουν δὲ φίλου ᾧ καὶ συνεχόρευσα τὰ τῶν Μουσῶν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ συνετελέσθην ὅσα δὴ πάντων ἐν Ἕλλησιν ἁγιώτατα.

would agree with you that I am the wickedest of mortals if, after having cultivated eloquence as an art, I refused to write a letter and, instead, neglected a friend with whom I had joined in song and dance in honour of the Muses and with whom I had been initiated into all the religious rites of greatest sanctity among the Greeks.

# TESTIMONY REGARDING DIO'S LIFE AND WRITINGS

*Although Dio's claim to a place in the history of Greek literature has long been based upon the eighty Discourses that bear his name, the testimony of certain scholars, critics, and book-lovers of later ages reveals the high esteem which his work in general continued to enjoy and enables us to piece out the story of his life, supplying also at least the titles of certain works now lost. The more significant portions of this testimony are recorded on the following pages.*

# DE VITA ET SCRIPTIS DIONIS TESTIMONIA ET IVDICIA

## 1. Philostratus

*Philostratus, one of the most distinguished sophists of the third century of our era, is perhaps our most important witness. In his* Lives of the Sophists *he testifies to Dio's effectiveness as a public speaker, his intimacy with Trajan, and his sincerity of purpose, explaining that the* Praise of the Parrot, *now lost, was a typically sophistic exercise, belonging to Dio's earlier career. He also adds some interesting details*

## 2. Lucianus Peregrin. c. 18

*Lucian, whose literary career followed that of Dio after an interval of only a few years, has left us one brief reference to our author, but that he regarded Dio as a philosopher worthy*

Πλὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο κλεινὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ στόματος ἦν ἅπασιν, ὁ φιλόσοφος διὰ τὴν παρρησίαν καὶ τὴν ἄγαν ἐλευθερίαν ἐξελαθείς· καὶ προσήλαυνε κατὰ τοῦτο τῷ Μουσωνίῳ καὶ Δίωνι καὶ Ἐπικτήτῳ καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἐν περιστάσει τοιαύτῃ ἐγένετο.

## 3. Themistius Orat. V, p. 63 d

*Themistius, whose career covered most of the fourth century, is perhaps best known for his* Paraphrases of Aristotle, *but he achieved eminence as a public speaker at Constantinople,*

Οὕτω καὶ οἱ πατέρες τῆς σῆς βασιλείας τοὺς

[1] For Philostratus' testimony regarding Dio the reader

# TESTIMONY REGARDING DIO'S LIFE AND WRITINGS

## 1. Philostratus

*concerning Dio's exile, for example, that he carried with him Plato's* Phaedo *and Demosthenes'* On the False Embassy, *information presumably gleaned from writings since lost. Scattered allusions to Dio in Philostratus'* Life of Apollonius, *though in themselves less significant and possibly somewhat fanciful, reinforce what is told in the* Lives of the Sophists.[1]

## 2. Lucian

*of respect may be inferred from his having coupled him with Musonius and Epictetus.*

*Peregrinus :* However, this too brought him (Peregrinus) renown, and he was on everybody's tongue, " the philosopher who was exiled for his frankness and extreme independence " ; and in this particular he came close to Musonius and Dio and Epictetus and any one else who found himself in like situation.

## 3. Themistius

*and the following testimony to Trajan's fondness for Dio comes from one of his addresses. It is noteworthy chiefly as an early allusion to Dio's title, Chrysostomos.*

*Discourses :* Thus also the fathers of your empire

may consult Wright's *Philostratus and Eunapius* (L.C.L.), pp. 16-23, and Conybeare's *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (L.C.L.), vol. I, pp. 522-523, 532-545, 558-559, 562-565, and vol. II, pp. 296-297.

προγόνους ταύτης τῆς τέχνης προῆγον, τὸν Ἄρειον ἐκεῖνον ὁ Σεβαστός, ὁ Τιβέριος τὸν Θρασύλον, Τραιανὸς ὁ μέγας Δίωνα τὸν χρυσοῦν τὴν γλῶτταν, κτλ.

## 4. Menander περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν Rhetor. Gr. III p. 389, 30 Spengel

*The Menander to whom we are indebted for the following brief references, whose significance consists in the linking of Dio with Plato, Xenophon, Nicostratus, and Philostratus as*

Ὅταν μὴ τραχείᾳ χρώμεθα τῇ ἀπαγγελίᾳ μηδὲ περιόδους ἐχούσῃ καὶ ἐνθυμήματα, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἁπλουστέρα τυγχάνῃ καὶ ἀφελεστέρα, οἵα ἡ Ξενοφῶντος καὶ Νικοστράτου καὶ Δίωνος τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου καὶ Φιλοστράτου τοῦ τῶν Ἡρωικῶν τὴν ἐξήγησιν καὶ τὰς Εἰκόνας γράψαντος, εἰρομένη καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος.

Ibid. p. 411, 29. Γένοιτο δ' ἂν καὶ ἀπὸ λέξεως ἐπιτετηδευμένης καὶ κεκαλλωπισμένης χάρις ἐν λόγῳ, οἵα ἐστὶν ἡ Πλάτωνος καὶ Ξενοφῶντος καὶ τῶν νεωτέρων, Δίωνος καὶ Φιλοστράτου καὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν ὅσοι καὶ συντιθέναι τὸ συγγραφικὸν εἶδος ἔδοξαν χαριέντως.

## 5. Synesii Dio, cap. 1, pp. 35 sqq. Petav.

*The literary activity of Synesius falls in the opening years of the fifth century. From his father he inherited a library, and also, it would seem, the love of books. He exhibits familiarity of a non-professional nature with many of the great Greek writers of the classic period, Plato being apparently his favourite. But Dio seems to have held for him a special attraction, for he incorporated Dio's* Encomium on Hair *in*

showed preference for the founders of this art—Augustus for the famous Areius, Tiberius for Thrasylus, the mighty Trajan for Dio of the golden tongue . . .

## 4. Menander

*exponents of simple, graceful prose, is probably the rhetorician who lived in the third century.*

*On Declamation :* Whenever the recital we employ is not harsh or teeming with periods or enthymemes but, as it happens, is more simple and artless, like that of Xenophon and Nicostratus [1] and Dio Chrysostom and Philostratus, who wrote the *Heroica* and the *Imagines*,[2] it is a running and natural style.

(*The same*) *:* Even from a style involving conscious art and embellishment there might arise grace of expression, like the style of Plato and Xenophon and the later writers, Dio and Philostratus and all the sophists who have gained a reputation for composing graceful prose.

## 5. Synesius

*his own* Encomium on Baldness,[3] *and he even composed a treatise entitled* Dio, *which he professes to have intended for the edification of his son-to-be.*

*In his* Dio *he discriminates between Dio the sophist and Dio the philosopher, and he reproves Philostratus for a certain confusion or inconsistency in that regard. Synesius makes the practical suggestion that it would be helpful to label each of Dio's writings either "pre-exile" or "post-exile" as the case might be, Dio's exile marking his transformation from*

[1] A rhetorician contemporary with Marcus Aurelius.

[2] Nephew of the author of the *Lives of the Sophists.*

[3] See pages 332-343.

*sophist to philosopher and statesman. In the course of this work Synesius mentions, sometimes with suggestive comment,*

Φιλόστρατος μὲν ὁ Λήμνιος ἀναγράφων τοὺς βίους τῶν μέχρις αὐτοῦ σοφιστῶν ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ λόγου δύο μερίδας ποιεῖ, τῶν τε αὐτὸ τοῦτο σοφιστῶν καὶ τῶν ὅσοι φιλοσοφήσαντες διὰ τὴν εὐστομίαν ὑπὸ τῆς φήμης εἰς τοὺς σοφιστὰς ἀπηνέχθησαν· καὶ τάττει τὸν Δίωνα μετὰ τούτων, ἐν οἷς Καρνεάδην τε καταλέγει τὸν Ἀθηναῖον καὶ Λέοντα τὸν Βυζάντιον, καὶ συχνοὺς ἄλλους, καταβιώσαντας μὲν ἐπὶ φιλοσόφου προαιρέσεως, λόγου δὲ ἰδέαν σοφιστικὴν ἡρμοσμένους, ἐν οἷς ἀριθμεῖ καὶ τὸν Κνίδιον Εὔδοξον, ἄνδρα τὰ πρῶτα τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους ὁμιλητῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀστρονομίας εὖ ἥκοντα, ὁπόσην ὁ τότε χρόνος ἐπρέσβευεν.

Ἡμῖν δὲ ὁ Δίων τῇ μὲν περιβολῇ τῆς γλώττης, ἣν χρυσῆν εἶχεν, ὥσπερ καὶ λέγεται, σοφιστὴς ἔστω διὰ πάντων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, εἴ τις ἀξιοῖ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς φωνῆς σοφιστικὸν ἀγώνισμα οἴεσθαι· καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο μετὰ μικρὸν ὁποῖόν ἐστιν ἐξετάσομεν· τὴν δὲ προαίρεσιν οὐχ εἷς ὁ Δίων, οὐδὲ μετὰ τούτων τακτέος, ἀλλὰ μετ' Ἀριστοκλέους, ἀπ' ἐναντίας μέντοι κἀκείνῳ. ἄμφω μέν γε μεταπεπτώκασιν· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐκ φιλοσόφου καὶ μάλα ἐμβριθοῦς καὶ πρόσω καθεικότος τὸ ἐπισκύνιον ἐτέλεσεν εἰς σοφιστάς, καὶ τρυφῆς ἁπάσης οὐχ ἥψατο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς ἄκρον ἐλήλακεν· ἐννεάσας δὲ τῇ προστασίᾳ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ περιπάτου

*certain of Dio's writings no longer extant, whence we learn that the corpus of Dio's writings had not yet been reduced to its present compass.*

*Dio :* Philostratus of Lemnos, when recording the lives of the sophists down to his own time, in the beginning of his account establishes two categories, namely, the genuine sophists and those who, though they had devoted themselves to philosophy, yet because of the beauty of their language were by common report classed among the sophists. And he puts Dio among the latter, among whom he lists not only Carneades the Athenian and Leon the Byzantine but many others as well, men who had lived their lives as professing philosophers and yet had adopted a style characteristic of the sophists. Among these he numbers also Eudoxus of Cnidus, a man who holds first place among the disciples of Aristotle but also was well versed in astronomy, to the extent to which it was then cultivated.

As for myself, though in the dress affected by his tongue—and he had a tongue of gold, as is actually said—it may be conceded that Dio was a sophist in all his writings, provided one sees fit to suppose that attention to the sound is a sophistic aim, though the nature of this, too, I shall shortly examine, still in his purpose Dio is not one kind of person, nor should he be classed with these men, but rather with Aristocles, although he presents a striking contrast even with him. To be sure, they both underwent a change ; but Aristocles, after having been a philosopher, both very grave and deeply frowning, took his place among the sophists, and he not only tasted every form of luxury but even went to the extreme. And after spending his youth in defence of the

δογμάτων, καὶ συγγράμματα ἐξενηνοχὼς εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἄξια φιλοσόφου σπουδῆς, οὕτω τι ἥττων ἐγένετο δόξης σοφιστικῆς, ὡς μεταμέλειν μὲν αὐτῷ γηρῶντι τῆς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ σεμνότητος, κόψαι δὲ τὰ Ἰταλιωτικά τε καὶ Ἀσιανὰ θέατρα μελέταις ἐναγωνιζόμενον· ἀλλὰ καὶ κοττάβοις ἐδεδώκει, καὶ αὐλητρίδας ἐνόμιζε, καὶ ἐπήγγελλεν ἐπὶ τούτοις συσσίτια· ὁ δὲ Δίων ἐξ ἀγνώμονος σοφιστοῦ φιλόσοφος ἀπετελέσθη· τύχῃ δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμῃ χρησάμενος τὴν τύχην αὐτὸς διηγήσατο. ἦν δὲ δὴ καὶ τοῦ γράφοντος βίον διηγήσασθαι τὴν περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα διπλόην, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἁπλῶς οὕτω συγκαταριθμῆσαι τοῖς ἀμφὶ Καρνεάδην καὶ Εὔδοξον· ὧν ἥντινα ἂν λάβῃς ὑπόθεσιν, φιλόσοφός ἐστι, μετακεχειρισμένη σοφιστικῶς, τοῦτ᾽ ἔστι λαμπρῶς ἀπηγγελμένη καὶ δεξιῶς καὶ πολλὴν τὴν ἀφροδίτην ἐπαγομένη. ταύτῃ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὓς λέγοντες ἐκήλουν τῷ κάλλει τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἠξιοῦντο τῆς προσηγορίας τοῦ σοφιστοῦ· αὐτοὶ δ᾽ ἂν ἀπαξιῶσαί μοι δοκοῦσι καὶ οὐδὲ διδόμενον δέξασθαι, φιλοσοφίας ἐν ὀνείδει τὸ τοιοῦτον τιθείσης ἄρτι, τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἐπαναστάντος τῷ ὀνόματι. ὁ δὲ προύστη τε λαμπρῶς τοῖν βίοιν ἑκατέρου χωρίς, καὶ ταῖς ὑποθέσεσι μάχεται ταῖς αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ, λόγους ἐξενεγκὼν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐνστάσεων.

Χρὴ δήπου καὶ δι᾽ αὐτὴν οὐχ ἥκιστα τὴν ἐν τοῖς

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[1] The school of Aristotle.

[2] A game of chance popular at drinking parties.

doctrines of the Peripatos [1] and after publishing among the Greeks treatises worthy of a philosopher's serious attention, he became so enslaved to the reputation of a sophist as to repent, as he grew older, of the solemnity that marked his prime and to knock for admission to the theatres of Magna Graecia and Asia, entering into competitions in declamation. Why, he even indulged in the cottabus,[2] and he employed flute-girls, and he issued invitations to dinner parties with these attractions. Dio, on the contrary, after having been a headstrong sophist, ended by becoming a philosopher; yet this was the result of chance rather than of set purpose, as he himself has narrated. But it was to be expected also of the biographer that he should describe the twofold nature of Dio, instead of merely cataloguing him along with Carneades and Eudoxus and their following. For no matter what treatise of theirs you may take, it is philosophic in nature, though handled in sophistic fashion, that is, phrased brilliantly and cleverly and provided with charm in abundance. In this way, too, they were deemed worthy of the title sophist by the persons whom they beguiled in their speeches by the beauty of their language. And yet they themselves would have rejected that title, methinks, and would not have accepted it when offered, philosophy having lately made it a term of reproach, since Plato had rebelled against the name. Dio, on the contrary, not only championed in brilliant fashion each of the two types of career separately, but he also is at variance with his own principles, having published treatises based upon the opposite foundations.

Surely, not least of all by reason of the very

λόγοις διαφορὰν μὴ σεσιγῆσθαι τὰ περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα. ὅπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτά φησιν, ἀπολύων αὐτὸν αἰτίας συνθέντα ἔπαινον ἐπὶ ψιττακῷ τῷ ὄρνιθι· σοφιστοῦ γὰρ εἶναι μηδὲ τούτων ὑπεριδεῖν· αὐτοῦ μὲν ἂν ἔλεγχος εἶναι δόξειε, προειπόντος ὅτι τῶν συκοφαντουμένων ἐστὶν ὁ ἀνήρ, ὅστις φιλόσοφος ὢν εἰς τὸν σοφιστὴν ἕλκεται. λέγει γὰρ οὕτω· Σοφιστὰς δὲ οἱ παλαιοὶ ἐπωνόμαζον οὐ μόνον τῶν ῥητόρων τοὺς ὑπερφωνοῦντάς τε καὶ λαμπρούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων τοὺς σὺν εὐροίᾳ ἑρμηνεύοντας, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀνάγκη πρότερον εἰπεῖν, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ὄντες σοφισταί, δόξαντες δέ, παρῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ταύτην· εἶτα σαφῶς φιλοσόφους ἄνδρας ἐξαριθμεῖται· μεθ' ὧν δὴ καὶ τὸν Δίωνα, καὶ μετὰ Δίωνα ἄλλους, ὧν περὶ τοῦ τελευταίου παυόμενος, Τοσαῦτα, φησί, περὶ τῶν φιλοσοφησάντων ἐν δόξῃ τοῦ σοφιστεῦσαι· ταὐτὸν ἑτέρως εἰπών, ὅτι μὴ ὄντες σοφισταὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐπεβάτευσαν. καίτοι μεταξύ πού φησιν ἀπορεῖν οἷ χοροῦ τάξει τὸν ἄνδρα, περιδέξιον δή τινα ὄντα. τί οὖν προεῖπας, τί δὲ ἐπεῖπας, ὅτι τοῦτο μὲν ἔστιν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ φαίνεται;

Ἀλλ' ἔγωγε οὐ μικρολογοῦμαι πρὸς τὰς ἐναντιολογίας· συγχωρῶ δὲ τὸν Δίωνα φιλόσοφον ὄντα παῖξαι τὰ σοφιστῶν, εἰ μόνον πρᾶός ἐστι καὶ ἵλεως φιλοσοφίᾳ, καὶ μηδαμοῦ μηδὲν ἐπηρέακεν

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[1] No longer extant.

difference found among Dio's discourses, the facts about him ought not to have been kept silent. For what Philostratus says later on, when he tries to excuse Dio for having composed a eulogy on the parrot,[1] namely, that it is to be expected of a sophist that he should not disdain even these topics, might seem to be a refutation of himself, since previously he had said that Dio is one of those who are the victims of false charges, since, though a philosopher, he is forced into the category of the sophist. These are his words: "Sophist is the name the men of old applied, not only to those orators who excelled in delivery and in brilliance, but also to those philosophers who expressed themselves fluently; and I must treat them first, since, though they were not sophists, but only so regarded, they have come to receive that title." Then he enumerates men who were clearly philosophers—among whom, of course, he places Dio, and after Dio others—and in concluding his remarks about the last in his list he says: "So much for those who practised philosophy but were thought to have been sophists," which was another way of saying that, though not sophists, they usurped the title. Yet somewhere between he says that he is at a loss to decide in what class to place Dio, since, forsooth, Dio is exceedingly clever. Why then did you say at the beginning and at the end that he really is the one, but seems to be the other?

However that may be, I for my part do not split hairs regarding the contradictions; on the contrary, I am willing to admit that Dio, though a philosopher, indulged in the tricks of the sophists, provided only that he is kindly and gracious toward philosophy and

αὐτῇ, μηδ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν συντέθεικε λόγους ἰταμούς τε καὶ κακοήθεις. ἀλλ᾽ οὗτός γε πλεῖστα δὴ καὶ μάλιστα σοφιστῶν εἰς φιλοσόφους τε καὶ φιλοσοφίαν ἀπηναισχύντηκεν. ἅτε γάρ, οἶμαι, φύσεως λαχὼν ἐχούσης ἰσχύν, καὶ τὸ ῥητορεύειν αὐτὸ ἠλήθευεν, ἄμεινον ἀναπεπεισμένος εἶναι τοῦ ζῆν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν τὸ ζῆν κατὰ τὰς κοινὰς ὑπολήψεις· ὅθεν ὅ τε κατὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων αὐτῷ λόγος ἐσπουδάσθη, σφόδρα ἀπηγκωνισμένος καὶ οὐδὲν σχῆμα ὀκνήσας, καὶ ὁ πρὸς Μουσώνιον ἕτερος τοιοῦτος, οὐ προσγυμναζομένου τῷ τόπῳ τοῦ Δίωνος, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ διαθέσεως γράφοντος, ὡς ἐγὼ σφόδρα διισχυρίζομαι· πείσαιμι δ᾽ ἂν καὶ ἄλλον, ὅστις εὔστοχος ἤθους εἰρωνείαν τε καὶ ἀλήθειαν ἐκ παντοδαποῦ λόγου φωρᾶσαι.

Ἐπειδή τε ἐφιλοσόφησεν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἡ ῥώμη τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ διεδείχθη. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐπιγνούσης ὀψὲ τῆς φύσεως τὸ οἰκεῖον ἔργον, οὐ κατὰ μικρόν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅλοις τοῖς ἱστίοις ἀπηνέχθη τῆς σοφιστικῆς προαιρέσεως· ὅς γε καὶ τὰς ῥητορικὰς τῶν ὑποθέσεων οὐκέτι ῥητορικῶς, ἀλλὰ πολιτικῶς μετεχειρίσατο. εἴ τις ἀγνοεῖ τὴν ἐν ταὐτῷ προβλήματι διαφορὰν τοῦ πολιτικοῦ καὶ τοῦ ῥήτορος, ἐπελθέτω μετὰ νοῦ τὸν Ἀσπασίας τε καὶ Περικλέους ἐπιτάφιον Θουκυδίδου καὶ Πλάτωνος, ὧν ἑκάτερος θατέρου παρὰ πολὺ καλλίων ἐστί, τοῖς οἰκείοις κανόσι κρινόμενος.

Ὁ δ᾽ οὖν Δίων ἔοικε θεωρήμασι μὲν τεχνικοῖς

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[1] The two compositions here mentioned are not extant.

[2] Pericles' famous oration (Thuc. 2. 35-46) is statesmanlike, while Aspasia's (Plato, *Menexenus* 236 D—249 C) is a model of rhetorical composition.

nowhere has dealt despitefully with it or has composed against it speeches which are both reckless and malicious. Yet the fact is that Dio has behaved with more copious and vehement effrontery toward both philosophers and philosophy than any of the sophists. The reason, I fancy, is that, being endowed with a forceful disposition, he was frank also in his behaviour as a public speaker, having been convinced that it is better to live in accord with common notions than in accord with philosophy. Therefore not only was his diatribe *Against the Philosophers* a serious composition on his part, utterly unabashed and shrinking from no rhetorical device, but also his *Reply to Musonius* [1] was another of the same character, for Dio was not employing the occasion to exercise his talents, but rather writing from conviction, as I emphatically maintain, and I could convince any one else who is skilful at detecting both irony and sincerity of character in every sort of composition.

Furthermore, when Dio took up philosophy, then indeed most of all the vigour of his nature was displayed. For as if his nature had been late in recognizing its proper function, not little by little but under full sail he was swept away from the calling of a sophist. At any rate, those subjects which were rhetorical he no longer handled like a rhetorician but rather like a statesman. If a person is ignorant of the difference between the statesman and the rhetorician in dealing with the same problem, let him review the funeral orations of Aspasia and Pericles as recorded by Thucydides and by Plato, each of which is far more beautiful than the other when judged by its own special standards.[2]

Well then, in philosophy Dio apparently did not

ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ μὴ προσταλαιπωρῆσαι μηδὲ προσανασχεῖν φυσικοῖς δόγμασιν, ἅτε ὀψὲ τοῦ καιροῦ μετατεθειμένος· ὀνάσθαι δὲ τῆς στοᾶς ὅσα εἰς ἦθος τείνει καὶ ἠρρενῶσθαι παρ' ὀντινοῦν τῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἐπιθέσθαι δὲ τῷ νουθετεῖν ἀνθρώπους καὶ μονάρχους καὶ ἰδιώτας καὶ καθ' ἕνα καὶ ἀθρόους, εἰς ὃ χρήσασθαι προαποκειμένῃ τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς γλώττης. διό μοι δοκεῖ καλῶς ἔχειν ἐπιγράφειν ἅπασι τοῖς Δίωνος λόγοις, ὅτι πρὸ τῆς φυγῆς ἢ μετὰ τὴν φυγήν, οὐχ οἷς ἐμφαίνεται μόνοις ἡ φυγή, καθάπερ ἐπέγραψαν ἤδη τινές, ἀλλ' ἁπαξάπασιν. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν εἴημεν τούς τε φιλοσόφους καὶ τοὺς αὐτὸ τοῦτο σοφιστικοὺς λόγους διειληφότες ἑκατέρους χωρίς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐν νυκτομαχίᾳ περιτευξόμεθα αὐτῷ νῦν μὲν βάλλοντι Σωκράτην καὶ Ζήνωνα τοῖς ἐκ Διονυσίων σκώμμασι καὶ τοὺς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀξιοῦντι πάσης ἐλαύνεσθαι γῆς καὶ θαλάττης, ὡς ὄντας Κῆρας πόλεών τε καὶ πολιτείας, νῦν δὲ στεφανοῦντί τε αὐτοὺς καὶ παράδειγμα τιθεμένῳ γενναίου βίου καὶ σώφρονος.

Φιλόστρατος δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἀπεριμερίμνως τὸν ἔπαινον τοῦ ψιττακοῦ καὶ τὸν Εὐβοέα τῆς αὐτῆς προαιρέσεως οἴεται, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀμφοῖν ὁμοίως εἰς ἀπολογίαν καθίσταται τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Δίωνος, ὡς μὴ ἐπὶ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν ἐσπουδακέναι δοκεῖν. τοῦτο δ' ἤδη πλέον ἐστὶ ποιήσασθαι θάτερον. ὁ γὰρ ἀναγορεύσας αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς δι' ὁλοκλήρου τοῦ

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[1] The Stoic school.
[2] Synesius refers to the licence of comedy.
[3] No longer extant.
[4] Or. 7.

persevere in technical speculations, nor did he devote himself to physical dogmas, because he had shifted his position late in his career; on the contrary, he seems to have profited from the Porch [1] in all that pertains to character, and to have become more manly than any person of his own day; furthermore, he applied himself to the task of admonishing mankind, whether monarchs or men in private station, whether singly or in groups, to which end he utilized the training in oral expression which he had acquired previously. For this reason I think it well to make the notation "before his exile" or "subsequent to his exile" on all Dio's speeches, not alone on those in which his exile is reflected, as some have done in the past, but on one and all. For by so doing we should have separated the philosophic speeches and the truly sophistic, each variety by itself, and we shall not, as in a nocturnal engagement, find him at one moment hurling at Socrates and Zeno the coarse jests of the Dionysiac festival [2] and demanding that their disciples be expelled from every land and sea in the belief that they are Messengers of Death to states and civic organization alike, and at another moment find him crowning them with garlands and making them his pattern of a life of nobility and sobriety.

Philostratus, however, and without due consideration, imagines the *Encomium on the Parrot* [3] and the *Euboean Discourse* [4] to belong to the same school, and regarding both alike he enters the lists in the defence of Dio, to save him from the imputation of having paid serious attention to ordinary matters. But this actually is rather to achieve for himself the other alternative. For he who had publicly proclaimed

βίου φιλοσοφήσασι προϊὼν οὐ μόνον ἐνδέδωκε πρὸς τὸ καὶ σοφιστικόν τι ἔργον εἰργάσθαι τὸν Δίωνα, ἀλλὰ προσαποστερεῖ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τῶν ὄντων ἐκ τῆς φιλοσόφου μερίδος, προσνέμων αὐτὰ τοῖς σοφιστικοῖς. εἰ γὰρ τὸν Εὐβοέα τις ἀφαιρήσεται τοῦ σπουδαῖον εἶναι καὶ ὑπὲρ σπουδαίων συγκεῖσθαι, οὔ μοι δοκεῖ ῥᾳστ' ἂν ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐγκρῖναί τινα λόγον τῶν Δίωνος ὥστε καὶ φιλόσοφον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προσειρῆσθαι. ὡς οὗτός γε ὁ λόγος ὑποτύπωσίς ἐστιν εὐδαίμονος βίου, πένητι καὶ πλουσίῳ τοῦ παντὸς ἀνάγνωσμα ἀξιώτατον. ᾠδηκός τε γὰρ ἦθος ὑπὸ πλούτου καταστέλλει, τὸ εὔδαιμον ἑτέρωθι δείξας, καὶ τὸ καταπεπτωκὸς ὑπὸ πενίας ἐγείρει καὶ ἀταπείνωτον εἶναι παρασκευάζει, τοῦτο μὲν τῷ καταμελιτοῦντι τὰς ἁπάντων ἀκοὰς διηγήματι, ὑφ' οὗ κἂν Ξέρξης ἀνεπείσθη, Ξέρξης ἐκεῖνος ὁ τὴν μεγάλην στρατιὰν ἐλάσας ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, μακαριώτερον ἑαυτοῦ γεγονέναι κυνηγέτην ἄνδρα ἐν τῇ ὀρεινῇ τῆς Εὐβοίας κέγχρους ἐσθίοντα, τοῦτο δὲ ταῖς ἀρίσταις ὑποθήκαις, αἷς χρώμενος οὐδεὶς αἰσχυνεῖται πενίαν, εἰ μή γε καὶ φεύξεται.

Διὸ βελτίους οἱ τάττοντες αὐτὸν μετὰ τὸν ἔσχατον περὶ βασιλείας, ἐν ᾧ τέτταρας ὑποθέμενος βίους καὶ δαίμονας, τὸν φιλοχρήματόν τε καὶ τὸν ἀπολαυστικὸν καὶ τρίτον τὸν φιλότιμον, τελευταῖον δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸν εὔφρονα καὶ σπουδαῖον,

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[1] Or. 4.

[2] This is not strictly true, for the fourth life and spirit is merely promised (Or. 4. 139), as Synesius himself proceeds to point out.

Dio to be among those who had practised philosophy all their lives has not only later on yielded to the idea that Dio had also done work of a sophistic nature, but he goes so far as to defraud him also of the possessions which come from the philosophic category, since he assigns them to those that are sophistic. For if a person is going to rob the *Euboean Discourse* of its claim to be a serious work and to have been composed on serious topics, in my opinion such a person would not very easily accept any of Dio's speeches to the extent of having it labelled by him actually philosophic. For certainly this discourse constitutes a pattern of a happy life, a work of literature of the very highest value for rich or poor alike. For not only does it deflate a character that has become puffed up by riches, pointing out that happiness is to be found elsewhere, but it also arouses a character that has been cast down by poverty and restores its self-respect, partly by means of his tale that fills the ears of all with sweetness, a tale by which even Xerxes, the famous Xerxes who marched his mighty host against the Greeks, might have been persuaded that a huntsman who fed on millet amid the mountains of Euboea had been more blessed than himself, and partly by his most excellent precepts, which will not allow any one who follows them to be ashamed of poverty, unless of course he is also to be an exile.

Therefore those are better critics who place the *Euboean* after the last discourse *On Kingship*,[1] in which, after having set forth lives and spirits of four kinds [2]—the avaricious, the pleasure-loving, thirdly the ambitious, and finally, to cap them all, the gracious and serious—he describes and sketches the

ἐκείνους μὲν τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἀλογίαν ἅπαντας γράφει τε καὶ σχηματίζει, παύεται δὲ τοῦ βιβλίου, τὸν λοιπὸν ἐπαγγειλάμενος αὐτίκα ἀποδώσειν, ὅτῳ ποτὲ πεπρωμένος ἐκ θεῶν ἐγένετο. χωρὶς οὖν τιθέντι τοὺς ἐν τοῖς συχνοῖς λόγοις Διογένας τε καὶ Σωκράτας, οἳ καὶ περιττοὶ τὴν φύσιν ἔδοξαν· καὶ οὐχ ἅπαντός ἐστιν ὁ τοῖν ἀνδροῖν τούτοιν ζῆλος, ἀλλ᾽ ὅστις εὐθὺς αἵρεσίν τινα τῶν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν ὑπέσχετο· τὸν δὲ κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν φύσιν ζητοῦντι καὶ τὸν ἅπασιν ἐγχωροῦντα, δίκαιον, ὅσιον, αὐτουργόν, ἀπὸ τῶν ὄντων φιλάνθρωπον, οὐκ ἂν ἕτερος ἀντὶ τοῦ Εὐβοέως ἀποδεδομένος εἴη βίος εὐδαιμονικός.

Ἔτι καὶ τοὺς Ἐσσηνοὺς ἐπαινεῖ που, πόλιν ὅλην εὐδαίμονα τὴν παρὰ τὸ νεκρὸν ὕδωρ ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ τῆς Παλαιστίνης κειμένην παρ᾽ αὐτά που τὰ Σόδομα. ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ ὅλως, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ φιλοσοφεῖν ἀπήρξατο καὶ εἰς τὸ νουθετεῖν ἀνθρώπους ἀπέκλινεν, οὐδένα λόγον ἄκαρπον ἐξενήνοχε.

Τῷ δὲ μὴ παρέργως ἐντυγχάνοντι δήλη καὶ ἡ τῆς ἑρμηνείας ἰδέα διαλλάττουσα καὶ οὐκ οὖσα μία τῷ Δίωνι κατά τε τὰς σοφιστικὰς ὑποθέσεις καὶ κατὰ τὰς πολιτικάς. ἐν ἐκείναις μὲν γὰρ ὑπτιάζει καὶ ὡραΐζεται, καθάπερ ὁ ταὼς περιαθρῶν αὑτὸν καὶ οἷον γανύμενος ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀγλαΐαις τοῦ λόγου, ἅτε πρὸς ἓν τοῦτο ὁρῶν καὶ τέλος τὴν εὐφωνίαν τιθέμενος. ἔστω παράδειγμα ἡ τῶν Τεμπῶν φράσις καὶ ὁ Μέμνων. ἐν τούτῳ μέν γε

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[1] The Essenes were a Jewish sect. Synesius is our only witness to the existence of this writing.

[2] Neither work now extant. The former presumably

first three, which are all marked by lack of reason, but concludes his treatise with the announcement that the one yet remaining he will presently display for him, whoever it may be, for whom it has been destined by the gods. Accordingly, if one sets aside the Diogeneses and Socrateses that are found in many of his discourses, who actually have been thought unusual in their nature—and it is not every one who can imitate those two men, but only he who from the outset has professed some one of the philosophic creeds—and if he seeks after the life which accords with our common nature and which is possible for us all—righteous, pious, industrious, generous with its possessions—no other life would be displayed instead of the Euboean as a life of happiness.

Furthermore, Dio somewhere praises the Essenes,[1] a community of complete happiness, situated beside the Dead Sea in the interior of Palestine somewhere near Sodom itself. For when once he had started on his career as a philosopher and had turned to admonishing mankind, Dio never produced any discourse at all which was unprofitable.

But to one who is not a superficial reader it is plain that Dio's form of expression varies and is not uniform, according as his themes are sophistic or political. For in the sophistic he struts and plumes himself, looking himself over like the peacock and, as it were, exulting in the splendours of his eloquence, since he has eyes for that alone and makes euphony his goal. Take, for example, his *Tempê* and his *Memnon*.[2] In the latter, certainly, his style is actually

dealt with the famous Vale of Tempê in northern Greece; the latter has been associated with the Memnon statues at Egyptian Thebes.

*καὶ ὑπότυφός ἐστιν ἡ ἑρμηνεία· τὰ δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου χρόνου βιβλία, ἥκιστ' ἂν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἴδοις χαῦνόν τι καὶ διαπεφορημένον. ἐξελαύνει γάρ τοι φιλοσοφία καὶ ἀπὸ γλώττης τρυφήν, τὸ ἐμβριθές τε καὶ κόσμιον κάλλος ἀγαπῶσα, ὁποῖόν ἐστι τὸ ἀρχαῖον, κατὰ φύσιν ἔχον καὶ τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις οἰκεῖον, οὗ μετὰ τοὺς λίαν ἀρχαίους καὶ Δίων ἐπιτυγχάνει, διὰ τῶν πραττομένων ἰών, κἂν λέγῃ κἂν διαλέγηται.*

*Ἔστω παράδειγμα τῆς ἀφελοῦς καὶ κυρίως ἐχούσης ἑρμηνείας ὁ ἐκκλησιαστικός τε καὶ ὁ βουλευτικός· εἰ δὲ βούλει, καὶ ὀντινοῦν τῶν πρὸς τὰς πόλεις εἰρημένων τε καὶ ἀνεγνωσμένων προκεχειρισμένος, ἴδοις ἂν ἑκατέραν ἰδέαν ἀρχαϊκήν, ἀλλ' οὐ τῆς νεωτέρας ἠχοῦς τῆς ἐπιποιούσης τῷ κάλλει τῆς φύσεως, ὁποῖαι αἱ διαλέξεις, ὧν πρόσθεν ἐμνημονεύσαμεν, ὁ Μέμνων τε καὶ τὰ Τέμπη, λόγος τε οὗτος ὁ κατὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων. κἂν γὰρ ἀποπροσποιῆται, πάνυ τοῦ θεάτρου γίνεται καὶ τῆς χάριτος· καὶ οὐκ ἂν εὕροις ῥητορείαν ἐπαφροδιτοτέραν παρὰ τῷ Δίωνι· ὃ καὶ θαυμάσας ἔχω τὴν τύχην φιλοσοφίας, εἰ μήτε κωμῳδία τῶν Νεφελῶν μᾶλλον εὐδοκιμεῖ· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔστιν ἥντινα μετὰ τῆς ἴσης δυνάμεως Ἀριστοφάνης ἀπήγγελκε· τεκμήριον ποιοῦ τοῦ στρογγύλως καὶ σὺν εὐροίᾳ προενηνέχθαι,*

*κηρὸν διατήξας, εἶτα τὴν ψύλλαν λαβὼν*
*ἐνέβαψεν εἰς τὸν κηρὸν αὐτῆς τὼ πόδε·*

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[1] We do not know to what speeches Synesius refers.

bombastic. But in the works of his second period by no means would you find anything conceited and diffuse. For, you see, philosophy banishes luxuriousness even in the field of eloquence, being fond of a beauty which is grave and orderly, the ancient form, natural and germane to the subject, a form which Dio, too, achieves, second only to the very ancient writers, proceeding as he does through the matters in hand, whether he is delivering a speech or conducting a discussion.

Take as samples of his unaffected and literal style his *Ecclesiasticus* and his *Bouleuticus*.[1] Or, if you wish, take any one at all of his addresses to the cities, whether orally delivered or read, and you would find in each an old-fashioned style rather than that of the more modern note which makes additions to the beauty of nature, as in the case of the discourses already mentioned, the *Memnon* and the *Tempê*, and in this one, too, *Against the Philosophers*. For even if he disclaims it, this speech belongs wholly to the theatre and the desire to please ; furthermore, you could not find a more charming display of rhetoric in Dio. In this connexion I have marvelled at the good fortune of philosophy if, in the first place, no comedy is more in favour than the *Clouds*,[2] for there is none which Aristophanes has composed with equal power. As witness to his compact and flowing style, take these lines :

He melted wax, and then he took the flea
And dipt its two feet in the wax ; and then,

[1] Or. 47 and Or. 48 were delivered before the *Ecclesia*, and the next two before the *Boulê*.

[2] The popularity of the *Clouds* is attested by the number of the manuscripts in which it is found.

κᾆτα ψυγείσῃ περιέφυσαν Περσικαί.
ταύτας ὑπολύσας ἀνεμέτρει τὸ χωρίον.

Ἀριστείδην τε ὁ πρὸς Πλάτωνα λόγος ὑπὲρ τῶν τεσσάρων πολὺν ἐκήρυξεν ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν· οὗτος μὲν καὶ τέχνης ἁπάσης ἀμοιρῶν ὅν γε οὐδ᾽ ἂν ἐπαγάγοις εἴδει ῥητορικῆς, οὔκουν ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου γε καὶ τῶν νόμων τῆς τέχνης· συγκείμενος δ᾽ οὖν ἀπορρήτῳ κάλλει καὶ θαυμαστῇ τινι χάριτι, εἰκῇ πως ἐπιτερπούσῃ τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ τοῖς ῥήμασιν· οὗτός τε ὁ Δίων ἤκμασε μάλιστα ἐν τῷ κατὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων, ἥντινα καὶ καλοῦσιν ἀκμὴν οἱ νεώτεροι· τοῦτ᾽ ἔστιν ἡρμόσατο πανηγυρικώτερον ἀνδρὸς ἀφελοῦς, καὶ μέντοι γε εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην ἰδέαν αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ ταύτῃ κράτιστος ἔδοξεν.

Οὐ μέντοι τοσοῦτον ὁ Δίων ἐξωρχήσατο τὴν ἀρχαίαν ῥητορικὴν ἐν οἷς καὶ δοκεῖ σαφῶς ἀναχωρεῖν τῶν οἰκείων ἠθῶν, ὡς ἂν καὶ λαθεῖν ὅτι Δίων ἐστί, παρακινήσας εἰς τὸ νεώτερον· ἀλλ᾽ εὐλαβῶς ἅπτεται τῆς παρανομίας, καὶ αἰσχυνομένῳ γε ἔοικεν, ὅταν τι παρακεκινδυνευμένον καὶ νεανικὸν προενέγκηται· ὥστε κἂν αἰτίαν φύγοι δειλίας, εἰ πρὸς τὴν ὕστερον ἐπιπολάσασαν τῶν ῥητόρων τόλμαν αὐτὸν ἐξετάζοιμεν, τοῖς πλείστοις δὲ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ παρὰ βραχὺ τοῖς ἅπασι μετ᾽ ἐκείνων ταττέσθω τῶν ἀρχαίων τε καὶ στασίμων ῥητόρων, παρ᾽ ὁντινοῦν καὶ δήμῳ διαλεχθῆναι

[1] *Clouds* 149-152.

When cooled, about it Persian shoes had formed.
Removing these, he fell to measuring the space.[1]

Again, the address *To Plato in Defence of the Four* heralded the fame of Aristeides far and wide among the Greeks.[2] This work, while actually devoid of all artifice, one which surely you could not even assign to the category of rhetoric, at least justly and on the basis of the laws of the art, is composed with an ineffable beauty and wondrous charm, one that seemingly without premeditation delights by means of its nouns and verbs. And lastly, our Dio was at his prime in his *Against the Philosophers*, to use the term prime as the moderns do ; that is, he composed in a more showy manner than a plain man would, and yet for such a style Dio was thought to be at his best in this.

However, in the works in which he seems clearly to depart from his own special habits Dio did not display such scorn for the old-fashioned rhetoric as to disguise the fact that it is Dio, though he did move in the direction of the more modern ; on the contrary, he is discreet when he violates his standards, and he actually seems to be ashamed whenever he has used any daring or audacious expression. Therefore he might even be taken to task for cowardice, if we were to scrutinize him in the light of the audacity which later became the vogue among the orators. But in most of his own work, yes, in very nearly all, let him be ranked with those old-fashioned and steady orators, since, compared with any one at all, he is wholly fit to address either a community or a person

[2] Aelius Aristeides (A.D. 129–189) in the work in question praises Themistocles, Miltiades, Pericles, and Cimon.

καὶ ἰδιώτῃ τοῦ παντὸς ἄξιος. οἵ τε γὰρ ῥυθμοὶ τοῦ λόγου κεκολασμένοι καὶ τὸ βάθος τοῦ ἤθους οἷον σωφρονιστῇ τινι καὶ παιδαγωγῷ πρέπον πόλεως ὅλης ἀνοήτως διακειμένης. ὥσπερ δὲ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν οὔτε μίαν ἔφαμεν πάντως οὔτε ἀνεπίγνωστον ὅτι Δίωνός ἐστιν ἑκατέρα, νῦν μὲν ῥήτορος ἀνδρός, νῦν δὲ πολιτικοῦ, οὕτω καὶ τὰς διανοίας, ὅστις οὐκ αὐτὸς δίχα διανοίας ἐπιβάλλει τὰς ὄψεις ὅτῳ δὴ τῶν βιβλίων αὐτοῦ, ἐπιγνώσεται Δίωνος οὔσας ἐν ταῖν δυοῖν ἰδέαιν τῶν ὑποθέσεων· κἂν τὸ φαυλότατον προχειρίσῃ, τὸν Δίωνα ὄψει τὸν ποριμώτατον τῇ ῥητορείᾳ παντὸς ἐξευρεῖν λόγους· μακρῷ γὰρ δὴ σοφιστῶν κατὰ τὸ ἐπιχειρῆσαι διήνεγκεν. εἰ δέ τις καὶ ἕτερος σοφιστὴς ἦν εὔπορος, ἀλλὰ πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ παραβάλλεσθαι πρὸς τὴν τοῦδε πυκνότητα· ἅμα δὲ καὶ θαυμαστή τις ἰδιότης χαρακτηρίζει τὰς Δίωνος ἐπινοίας. δηλούτω σοι τὸν ἄνδρα ὁ Ῥοδιακός τε καὶ ὁ Τρωικός· εἰ δὲ βούλει, καὶ ὁ τοῦ κώνωπος ἔπαινος. ἐσπουδάσθη γὰρ τῷ Δίωνι καὶ τὰ παίγνια, πανταχοῦ τῇ φύσει χρωμένῳ· καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀπιστήσαις αὐτὰ τῆς αὐτῆς εἶναι παρασκευῆς τε καὶ δυνάμεως.

Ταῦτά μοι περὶ Δίωνος εἰπεῖν ἐπῆλθε πρὸς τὸν ὕστερόν ποτε παῖδα ἐσόμενον, ἐπεί μοι καὶ διεξιόντι τοὺς παντοδαποὺς αὐτοῦ λόγους μεταξὺ τὸ μάντευμα γέγονε. πατρικὸν δὴ πέπονθα, καὶ ἤδη συνεῖναι τῷ παιδὶ βούλομαι καὶ διδάσκειν ἅττα μοι φρονεῖν ἔπεισι περὶ ἑκάστου συγγραφέως τε καὶ συγγράμματος, συνιστὰς αὐτῷ φίλους ἄνδρας

in private station. For the rhythms of his speech are restrained and the gravity of his style is such as would befit any supervisor and guardian of a state wholly inclined to folly. But just as I have said of his style, that it is not by any means uniform, and yet that unmistakably each style is Dio's, now as orator and now as statesman, so also regarding his thoughts—whoever not without thought himself casts his eyes on any of Dio's writings will see that the thoughts are Dio's in both varieties of his speeches; and even if you select the most trivial of them, you will find Dio to be the most resourceful in his oratory at finding words for everything, for he is far superior to the sophists in dialectic argument. Nay, if any other sophist was resourceful, still he is far from deserving comparison with Dio in regard to the latter's sagacity; and at the same time a wondrous individuality marks his thoughts. Let both his *Rhodian* and his *Trojan* [1] discourses reveal him to you; or, if you wish, include his *Eulogy of the Gnat*.[2] For even his sportive compositions were treated seriously by Dio, who indulged his natural propensities in every field; moreover, you would not doubt that they were the product of the same training and faculty.

This is what it has occurred to me to say about Dio to him who some day in the future is to be my son, for even as I was going through Dio's speeches of every kind I received the prophecy. Already I feel like a father, and I want to be with my son at once and to teach him whatever occurs to me to think about each writer and each work of literature, introducing to him men who are my friends, along with

[1] Or. 11 and Or. 31 respectively.
[2] No longer extant.

μετὰ τῆς προσηκούσης ἕκαστον κρίσεως· ἐν οἷς ἔστω καὶ Δίων ὁ Προυσαεύς, περιττὸς ἀνὴρ εἰπεῖν τε καὶ γνῶναι. καὶ τοῦτον οὖν ἐπαινέσας αὐτῷ παραδίδωμι, ἵνα μοι μετὰ τοὺς τῆς γενναίας φιλοσοφίας προστάτας ἀπάρχοιτό ποτε καὶ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς τοῦ Δίωνος γράμμασι, μεθόριον αὐτὰ ἡγούμενος τῶν προπαιδευμάτων τε καὶ τῆς ἀληθινωτάτης παιδείας.

## 6. Photius Bibl. cod. 209

*Photius, the learned Patriarch of Constantinople of the ninth century, was an omnivorous reader, and his observations on what he read are embodied in a digest entitled* Bibliotheca. *His discussion of Dio's writings, which is confined to the eighty discourses that make up our own collection, opens with a few details regarding the life and personal characteristics of Dio, followed by general remarks concerning his literary qualities. Photius then proceeds to list, title by title, all*

Ἀνεγνώσθη Δίωνος βιβλίον ἐν λόγοις π΄. οὗτος ἔστι μὲν τὴν πατρίδα Προυσαεύς, φυγὰς δ' ἐγεγόνει ταύτης, τυραννίδος ἐκκλίνων δουλείαν, καὶ πολλὴν ἐπῆλθε πλανώμενος γῆν. δεξιὸς δὲ περὶ τοὺς λόγους ἔδοξεν εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ὅσοι ῥυθμίζειν συμβουλεύουσι τὰ ἤθη. ἤκμασε δὲ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τοῦ βασιλέως Τραιανοῦ, καὶ πλεῖστον διέτριψε χρόνον παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς ὅτι μάλιστα τιμῆς καὶ δεξιώσεως ἔτυχεν, ὡς καὶ συγκαθέζεσθαι αὐτὸν τῷ βασιλείῳ ὀχήματι. παῖς μὲν ἦν οὗτος Πασικράτους, σοφιστὴς δὲ καὶ φιλόσοφος τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δ' αὐτὸν τῆς κατὰ τὸ σχῆμά φασι σεμνότητος ἀντιποιεῖσθαι ὡς καὶ λεοντῆν πολλάκις ἐνημμένον ποιεῖσθαι τὴν

the critical appraisal befitting each. And among these let Dio of Prusa, too, have his place, a man remarkable in both speech and discernment. And so, having praised Dio, I entrust him to my son, that having cultivated the champions of genuine philosophy, he may some day, I trust, pay tribute also to the political writings of Dio, believing them to be a border-land between the preparatory subjects of instruction and the most genuine education.

## 6. Photius

*eighty discourses that had come to his attention, usually adding a few words to indicate the contents and occasionally including remarks by way of critical appraisal. His literary judgement does him credit. It should be noted that the order in which Photius presents the discourses differs markedly from that followed in the present edition, the same difference being observable to-day between the two main families of Dio manuscripts.*

*Bibliotheca :* We have read a work of Dio's consisting of eighty speeches. Dio is by birth a citizen of Prusa, but he was banished from there because he shunned being in slavery to a tyrant, and he covered much territory in his wanderings. He gained a reputation for being clever in his speeches, and especially in those which advise men to amend their ways. He flourished in the time of the emperor Trajan, and he spent a great deal of time in his society and gained from him the very highest honour and hospitality, even to the extent of sitting beside Trajan in his imperial carriage. Dio was the son of Pasicrates, and a sophist and philosopher by profession. It is said that he made such pretensions to dignity of appearance as even to appear frequently

*πρόοδον. φωνὴν δ' ἠρεμαίαν ἠφίει καὶ σταθεράν· καὶ σχολαῖον μέν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀναβεβλημένον βάδισμα, καὶ τἄλλα τῶν κινημάτων οὐκ ἀσύμφωνα· ἰσχνὸς δ' ἦν καὶ οὐδὲ μέγας τὸ σῶμα.*

*Τοῦτον πολλούς φασι καὶ ποικίλους γράψαι λόγους· οἱ δ' εἰς ἡμετέραν φθάσαντες γνῶσιν τὸν π' ἐπλήρουν ἀριθμόν. Χρυσόστομον δ' αὐτὸν οἱ λόγοι τῇ κατ' αὐτὸν γενεᾷ δεδώκασιν ἐπονομάζειν. ἔστι μὲν οὖν, ὅπερ ἔφην, τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων, οὓς ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν, συμβουλευτικόν· οἷα δ' εἰκός, καὶ τῷ συμβουλευτικῷ παραπλεκόμενον τὸ οἷον δικανικὸν παραπλήσιον τὴν ἀρετὴν κἀν τῷ μέρει τῷδε τοῦ λόγου δεικνύει, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων ὁ Ῥοδιακός. δριμύς τε γάρ ἐστι τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασι καὶ τὸ συνεστραμμένον πρός γε τὸν αὐτοῦ χαρακτῆρα τῶν λόγων ἔχων καὶ τὸ ἔντονον μετὰ τοῦ γονίμου πλουτῶν· ἄριστος δὲ τοῖς παραδείγμασι καὶ πολύς ἐστι πανταχοῦ, καὶ ποικίλης ὕλης λαμβάνων αὐτὰ καὶ προσφυῶς ἁρμοζόμενος. χαίρει δὲ μάλιστα καὶ μυθολογήμασι τὰς παραινέσεις συνδιαπλέκειν· διὸ καὶ τὸ ἀφελὲς διώκειν δοκεῖ. σπάνιον γὰρ εἴ τις εὕροι κατὰ τὸν Πλατωνικὸν ζῆλον τοῖς δίαρμα καὶ ὄγκον ἐνεργαζομένοις τῷ λόγῳ, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ Βορυσθενιτικῷ, μύθοις αὐτὸν ἀποχρώμενον. ἀφελὴς μὲν οὖν ἐστι τὰ πολλά, ὡς ἔφθην εἰπών, ταῖς ἐννοίαις, καὶ τῶν τε καθωμιλημένων αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπιπολαζουσῶν αἱ λέξεις, καὶ οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἡ σύνταξις οὔτ' ἐπὶ τὸ βαθύτερον οὔτ' ἐπὶ τὸ καθηδυνόμενον ἐκνεωτερίζει. καὶ τό γε ἐπὶ τοῖς ῥήμασι καὶ τῇ συμπλοκῇ τῶν*

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1 Or. 31.
2 Or. 36.

in public clad in a lion's skin. His manner of speaking was quiet and deliberate; his gait was leisurely, though not slow, and his other movements were not out of harmony with his gait; he was spare of frame and not tall of stature.

It is said that Dio composed many speeches and of many kinds; but those that have come to my attention amounted to an even eighty. Chrysostom is the sobriquet which his speeches have caused his generation to apply to him. Now, as I was saying, most of Dio's speeches with which I am familiar are deliberative; but, as was to be expected, intertwined with the deliberative, his quasi-forensic product too shows his excellence in this branch of oratory as well to be nearly as great, and most of all the *Rhodian Discourse*.[1] For he is sagacious in his reasoning, and he possesses the quality of pithiness, at least with regard to his own style of oratory, and he has a wealth of intensity combined with originality. Again, he is excellent in his illustrations from history and abounds in them everywhere, not only culling his illustrations from various sources but also fitting them in appropriately. But especially he delights to interweave his exhortations with mythological narratives; and this seems to be his reason for aiming also at simplicity. For example, one would rarely find him following the pattern of Plato and using myths which impart elevation and dignity to his eloquence, as is the case in his *Borysthenitic Discourse*.[2] So, as I have just said, for the most part he is simple in his conceptions and his phrases are such as were current and popular in his day; nor does his syntax attempt any innovation in the direction of either profundity or ornamentation. Furthermore, in the matter of his

ὀνομάτων τοῦ σαφοῦς ἄν τις ἐλπίσειε τὸν συγγραφέα κατεστοχάσθαι· ἀλλὰ τό γε διὰ μακροῦ τὴν τῆς διανοίας ἀπόδοσιν προϊέναι, καὶ ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τὸν λόγον διαπεπλέχθαι, οὐκ ἐπὶ μικρῷ τῆς τοιαύτης αὐτὸν ἐκκλείει ἰδέας. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν παραλλαγὴ ἰδέας καὶ χαρακτῆρος ἰδίωμα, ἀλλ' οὐκ αἰτίας ἴσως ἔνδειξιν ἔχει· τὸ δ' ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἀποτείνειν τὰ προοίμια ἢ τὰ οἷον προοίμια οὐκέτι ἀφίησιν αὐτὸν τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ ἀντὶ πολιτικοῦ καὶ συγγραφικοῦ τύπου τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς συνουσίαις ἀλλάξασθαι παραδεδυκότα καὶ μείζω τὴν κεφαλὴν τὴν ὡς ἐν λόγῳ τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος διαπλάττειν.

Τῶν τοίνυν λόγων αὐτοῦ δʹ περὶ βασιλείας μέν εἰσιν εἰρημένοι. καὶ ὁ εʹ δέ, Λιβυκὸς ἐπιγραφόμενος, μῦθον μὲν Λίβυν ἀπαγγέλλει, ἐκείνων δ' ἐστὶν ἐξημμένος. ὁ δ' ἕκτος περὶ τυραννίδος δίεισι, καὶ περὶ ἀρετῆς ὁ ἐπὶ τούτῳ. ὁ δὲ ηʹ Διογένης μὲν ἢ Ἰσθμικὸς ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχει, πρᾶξιν δέ τινα καὶ λόγους Διογένους κατὰ τὰ Ἴσθμια διαγγέλλει. καὶ ὁ θʹ, Διογένης ἢ περὶ οἰκετῶν, παραινεῖ μὲν ἅπαντας δι' ἑνὸς προσώπου αὐτοῦ μὲν ἕκαστον πολλὴν ἐπιστροφὴν καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖσθαι, ὀλίγην δὲ τῶν ἔξωθεν συμπιπτόντων· καὶ μὴ χρῆναι φεύγοντα διώκειν οἰκέτην· ἄτοπον γὰρ ἐκείνους μὲν κακοὺς ὄντας ἐλπίζειν ἄνευ τῶν δεσποτῶν ἄμεινον βιώσεσθαι, τοὺς δεσπότας δὲ μὴ ἀξιοῦντας φαύλους εἶναι μὴ νομίζειν ἄμεινον διάξειν, εἰ μὴ παραπολαύοιεν τῆς τῶν δραπετῶν

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[1] In our collection the *Euboean Discourse*, which Photius makes number thirteen, precedes *On Virtue*; consequently

verbs and the intertwining of his nouns one might expect the prose writer to have aimed at clarity; yet Dio's long postponement of the conclusion of his thought and his extreme use of repetition in weaving the pattern of the discourse in no small measure exclude it from such a category. But while these matters constitute a difference of literary form and a peculiarity of style, they possibly do not afford occasion for censure; yet his prolonging his proems, or his quasi-proems, to great length does not any longer permit him to escape the charge of having substituted for a political and literary type the conversational, into which he has slipped, and of making the head, as one might say, larger than the rest of the body.

Now then, among his speeches four are entitled *On Kingship.* The fifth, entitled *Libyan*, recounts a Libyan myth, but it is a pendant of those four. The sixth is *On Tyranny*, and the one following is *On Virtue.*[1] The eighth has the title *Diogenes or Isthmian*, and it reports an experience which Diogenes had and things which he said at the Isthmian Games. The ninth, *Diogenes or On Servants*, exhorts all mankind, through a single illustration, to give much heed and care to themselves individually, but little to what befalls them from without; also it states that one ought not to pursue a runaway servant, because it is absurd that, while servants, who are base, hope to live a better life apart from their masters, the masters, who do not think poorly of themselves, should fail to hold that they will live a better life if they do not share the fruits of the fugitives' stupidity.

[1] Photius' numbering of the next few discourses does not correspond to ours.

σκαιότητος. ὁ δὲ ι′ Τρωικὸς μὲν ἕλκει τὴν ἐπιγραφήν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἁλῶναι δὲ τὸ Ἴλιον διεσπούδασται, Ὁμήρῳ τε κατὰ τὸ τραχύτερον προσφέρεται, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα κατὰ τὴν Ἰλιάδα αὐτῷ πεποίηται, τἀναντία τούτοις πραγματεύεται. ὁ δὲ Ὀλυμπικὸς ἢ περὶ τῆς πρώτης τοῦ θεοῦ ἐννοίας, αὐτὸ τοῦτο πειρώμενος ἐπιδεικνύειν, ἑνδέκατός ἐστιν. ὁ δὲ ιβ′, ἐν Ἀθήναις περὶ φυγῆς ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων, εἴρηται μὲν ἐν αὐταῖς, δίεισι δὲ ὡς οὐδὲν ἡ φυγὴ χαλεπόν, καὶ ὡς πλοῦτος μὲν καὶ δόξα καὶ δυναστεία θᾶττον ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχόντων ἐπὶ τοὺς μηδ᾿ ἐλπίσαντας μεταρρεῖ, τὸ δὲ φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀσκεῖν διὰ βίου τε κτῆμα διαμένει ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἀποιχομένοις συνέπεται. ὁ δὲ ιγ′ Εὐβοϊκὸς ἢ κυνηγετικὸς ἔλαχεν ἐπιγραφήν, εἰσάγει δέ τινας ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ τοιοῦτον βίον βιοῦντας· δι᾿ ὧν κατασκευάζει ὡς ὁ ἀπράγμων βίος, εἰ καὶ πενόμενος εἴη, πολλῷ τῶν ἐν ἄστει θορυβουμένων τε καὶ τρυφώντων ἡδίων τε καὶ λυσιτελέστερος. Ῥοδιακὸς δὲ ὁ ιδ′ ἐπιγράφεται ἐν τούτῳ ἔθος ἄλογον παρὰ Ῥοδίοις ἐπιτιμᾷ ἐπιπολάσαν. τὸ δ᾿ ἦν, οὓς ἐβούλοντο τιμᾶν ἀνδριᾶσι, τούτοις μὲν ἀνδριάντα ἀνίστασαν οὐδένα· τοὺς δὲ τοῖς πάλαι ἀνεστηκότας, τούτων ἄρα ἢ τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς μεταξέοντες εἰς τὰ τῶν μελλόντων τιμηθῆναι ὀνόματα, ἢ τῷ χρόνῳ μηδὲ φαινομένων ἐπιγράφοντες, τῶν τε οἰχομένων τό γε ἐπ᾿ αὐτοῖς τὴν τιμὴν ἐλυμαί-

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[1] In our collection the *Rhodian Discourse* is number thirty-one; Photius places Orr. 14-30 at the end of his enumeration.

The tenth bears the title *Trojan*, and the author has taken great pains to prove that Ilium was not captured. Not only does he handle Homer rather roughly, but everything else that Homer has put into his *Iliad* is treated contrary to the poet's version. The *Olympic or On the First Conception of God*, whose aim is to point out precisely that, is number eleven. The twelfth, whose title is *In Athens, On Banishment*, was delivered in Athens, and it argues that banishment is no hardship, also that wealth and fame and power rather speedily desert those who possess them and change over to those who never even expected to have them, whereas the pursuit of wisdom and the cultivation of virtue not only through life remain a noble possession, but also accompany men when they die. The thirteenth has drawn the title *Euboean or On the Hunter*, and it introduces certain persons who follow that sort of career in Euboea. By means of these persons the discourse seeks to prove that the care-free life, even though it be a life of poverty, is far more pleasant and also more profitable than the life of those who in a city are surrounded by confusion and luxury. *Rhodian* is the title of the fourteenth.[1] In this the author reproves an absurd practice prevalent among the Rhodians. That is to say, when they wanted to honour persons with statues, their practice was, not to erect any statue for them, but to take the statues which had been erected for men of former days and either erase what had been inscribed upon them and substitute the names of the persons now to be honoured, or else, if through lapse of time the original inscription was not even legible, inscribing a new one. Thus, at least in so far as they were able, they would outrage the honour belonging to

*νοντο, καὶ οὓς τιμᾶν ὑπεπλάττοντο, ἀλλοτρίαις καὶ κατ' οὐδὲν ἐοικυίαις εἰκόσιν ἐνύβριζον. ἐν τῷδε τῷ λόγῳ μεγάλη τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τῆς ἀνασκευαστικῆς ἰσχύος ἡ ἀρετὴ διαφαίνεται. ὁ δὲ ιε' πρὸς Ἀλεξανδρεῖς μὲν ἐπιγέγραπται, δήμου δὲ φύσιν ἀναπτύσσων ταύτης κατατρέχει· καὶ ὅτι μὴ χρὴ τὸν Ἀλεξανδρέων δῆμον, ἴδια πολλὰ τὰ πρὸς ἀρετὴν παρακαλοῦντα ἔχοντα, τῆς ἐν τῷ κοινῷ ἐπιπολαζούσης ταραχῆς καὶ ἀταξίας καὶ αὐτὸν εἶναι ἀνδράποδον, μάλιστα δὲ παραφυλάττεσθαι τὸ ἁμάρτημα κατὰ τὰς δημοτελεῖς πανηγύρεις καὶ τὰ θέατρα. Ταρσικοὶ δὲ δύο ἐφεξῆς ἐπιγραφῆς ἔτυχον, ὧν ὁ μὲν α' ἔπαινόν τινα τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτρέχων οὐκ εὐδαίμονας ἐκείνας ἀποφαίνει τῶν πόλεων, ὅσαι κρήνας καὶ ποταμοὺς καὶ κάλλη στοῶν καὶ οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ καρπῶν ἀφθονίαν καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια προβάλλονται, ἀλλ' ἐν ὅσαις τάξις καὶ ἀρετὴ τῶν πολιτευομένων διαδείκνυται. οὗτος ὁ λόγος καὶ παράλογόν τι καὶ ἐφύβριστον ἔθος κατὰ φωνῆς ἀπήχησιν τοῖς Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι πραττόμενον εὐθύναις ὑπάγει, παραινῶν ἀποσχέσθαι τοὺς χρωμένους ἢ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν πληκτικώτερον καθαπτόμενος. ὁ δὲ δεύτερος παραινεῖ μὴ συκοφαντικῶς πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας διακεῖσθαι, μηδ' ἐπὶ τοῖς βραχέσι τῶν παραλυπούντων εὐθὺς ἀνερεθίζεσθαι καὶ ἐπαιτιᾶσθαι τούτους. ὁ δὲ ιη', ὃς*

[1] For the sound in question, see Or. 33. 31-56 and Campbell Bonner's valuable article (*Harv. Theol. Rev.* xxxv, pp.

the departed and at the same time they would insult those whom they were pretending to honour by means of statues to which they had no claim and which in no wise resembled the recipient. In this discourse the excellence of Dio's destructive power is conspicuously great. The fifteenth discourse is entitled *To the Alexandrians*, and it lays bare the nature of the populace and inveighs against it. Furthermore, it states that the populace of Alexandria, since it has many special incentives to virtue, should not itself be a slave to the confusion and disorder prevalent in the community, but should most of all guard against the misconduct encountered in the popular gatherings and in the theatres. Two discourses that follow have been labelled *Tarsic*, the first of which, while dealing lightly with a sort of laudation of Tarsus, seeks to prove that the fortunate cities are not those which offer in evidence fountains and rivers, beautiful colonnades and edifices, and abundance of crops and the like, but rather those in which orderliness and virtue are conspicuous on the part of those who administer the government. This oration also subjects to scrutiny a certain surprising and wanton habit of the Alexandrians in connexion with a resonant vocal sound, advising those who indulge in it to refrain, or, more properly speaking, attacking them quite vehemently.[1] The second *Tarsic* advises against being disposed to employ captious charges with reference to their magistrates and against a readiness to grow excited over trifling annoyances and to find fault with these magistrates. The eighteenth discourse, which bears no title, was

1-11). Alexandrians has carelessly displaced Tarsians, as is clear from both the content and the context of this sentence.

οὐκ ἐπιγέγραπται, ἐν Κελαιναῖς ἐρρήθη τῆς Φρυγίας. διαλαμβάνει δὲ ὡς οὐκ ἀρετῆς εἴη σημεῖον τὸ κομᾶν, ὥσπερ οὐδ᾽ ἄλλο τι τῶν σχημάτων τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τούτων τὰ ἐναντία· διαπλέκεται δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἔπαινος. τὸν δὲ ιθʹ μηνύει ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ ῥηθῆναι μὲν ἐν τῷ Βορυσθένει, ἀναγνωσθῆναι δὲ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι· ἐν ᾧ ἄλλα τε δίεισιν ὁ συγγραφεὺς καὶ κατὰ τὸν Πλατωνικὸν συνομολογεῖ ζῆλον περί τε τοῦ δημιουργοῦ τῶν ὅλων τοῖς Βορυσθενίταις διειλέχθαι τῆς τε τοῦ παντὸς διακοσμήσεως καὶ κινήσεως καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ στοιχείων. ἔχεται δέ τινος λαμπρότητος καὶ σεμνότητος οὗτος ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους ὁ λόγος. καὶ ὁ Κορινθιακὸς δέ, κʹ ὤν, ἐν Κορίνθῳ μὲν ἐρρήθη, ἐπιτίμησιν δ᾽ αὐτῶν διαπεραίνει ἀνθ᾽ ὧν εἰκόνι τὰ πρῶτα τιμήσαντες αὐτὸν ὕστερον ἀποδημήσαντος ἐκ διαβολῆς οὐ δικαίας περιείλοντο τὸ γέρας. ἐγγὺς δ᾽ ἐστὶ τοῦ Ῥοδιακοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἐν λόγοις ῥώμην καὶ ἀρετὴν οὗτος· ἡ δὲ τοῦ οἷον προοιμίου παράτασις κἀνταῦθα, ὡς καὶ παρὰ μικρὸν πανταχοῦ, τῆς ἀρετῆς οὐ μετέχει. τοῦ δὲ καʹ ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ περὶ τῆς πρὸς Νικαεῖς ὁμονοίας τῶν Νικομηδέων ἐστί· καὶ τοῦτον ὑπέρχεται τὸν ἀγῶνα ὁ λόγος εὐκαίρως διὰ τῆς ἡδονῆς προενηνεγμένος· μᾶλλον γὰρ οὕτω ταῖς ψυχαῖς τὸ πιθανὸν ἐθέλει διαδύειν. τὸν δὲ βʹ καὶ κʹ ἐν Νικαίᾳ εἰρῆσθαι ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ δηλοῖ περὶ ὁμονοίας, πεπαυμένης τῆς στάσεως· αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο διατίθησιν ὁ ἀνήρ, ἔπαινον τοῦ γεγονότος. ὁ δὲ κγʹ περὶ τῆς πρὸς Ἀπαμεῖς ὁμονοίας εἴρηται

delivered in Celaenae in Phrygia. It maintains that it is no sign of virtue to wear long hair, any more than any other bodily characteristics, or their opposites. Interwoven with it also is a laudation of the city. The title of the nineteenth reveals that it had been delivered in Borysthenes, but that it was given as a public reading in Dio's native city. In this speech the author, in addition to other matters, admits that he had in emulation of Plato discoursed to the citizens of Borysthenes regarding the creator of the universe and also regarding the orderly arrangement and movement of the universe and the elements of which it is composed. A certain brilliance and solemnity mark this discourse above all others. The *Corinthian* discourse, which is the twentieth, was delivered in Corinth and is a thorough-going reproval of the people for having at first honoured the speaker with a statue and then, after he had left the city, having removed the mark of distinction because of a malicious rumour without any justification. This speech is close to the *Rhodian* in the vigour and the high quality of its eloquence ; however, the prolongation of what may be termed its proem, here as practically everywhere, does not partake of that high quality. The title of number twenty-one is *On Concord between Nicaea and Nicomedia* ; and the speech approaches this theme propitiously, having been delivered in an indulgent spirit, for in this way persuasion is more likely to penetrate men's souls. The title of number twenty-two reveals that it was delivered in Nicaea upon the subject of concord after the cessation of civil strife ; and this is precisely what the author makes his theme, a laudation of what has taken place. Number twenty-three, *On Concord*

ἐν τῇ πατρίδι· αὐτὸ δὲ διαπράττεται τοῦτο. καὶ ὁ ἐφεξῆς δὲ περὶ ὁμονοίας τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Προυσαεῖς παρακαλεῖ τοὺς Ἀπαμέας. ὁ δὲ κε΄ διάλεξίς ἐστιν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι. ἄγνοιαν δὲ ὑποπλάττεται τῆς αἰτίας ὁ διαλεγόμενος, δι᾽ ἣν μηδὲν χρήσιμον αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων προβεβλημένων ἡδέως καὶ ποθοῦντες ἀκούουσι. πολιτικὸς δέ ἐστι τῷ κϛ΄ ἡ ἐπιγραφή, καὶ εἴρηται ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ ἐφεξῆς, φιλοφρονητικὸς ὑπάρχων αὐτῇ ἀνθ᾽ ὧν τιμαῖς τὸν φιλοφρονούμενον ἐδεξιοῦτο. ἀπολογισμὸς δέ ἐστιν ὁ μετ᾽ αὐτούς, ὅπως διέκειτο πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα. ὁ δὲ θ΄ καὶ κ΄ πρὸ τοῦ φιλοσοφεῖν μὲν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ἐπιγράφεται, τοὺς δ᾽ ἐπιχειρήσαντας καταλεύειν αὐτόν τε καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ ἕτερον, εἶτα δὲ καὶ πυρὶ τὴν οἰκίαν δοῦναι, τούτους ἠρέμα πως ἐπιτιμῶν, τὸ πλανᾶσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς ξένης τῆς οἴκοι διατριβῆς διὰ τὰς ἐν πόλει ἀταξίας ἄμεινον κατασκευάζει. ἡ δὲ τῶν πολιτῶν ὀργὴ κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ, διότι, φησί, καταρρέουσαν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ἀνέλαβε τὴν οἰκίαν. καὶ ὁ λ΄ δέ, δημηγορία ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν φέρων, εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἀποβλέπει. καὶ ὁ α΄ καὶ λ΄ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι μὲν ἐλέχθη, πολιτικὸς δ᾽ ἐπιγέγραπται ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ συμβουλεύει τῶν εἰς ἀλλήλους ὕβρεων ἀποσχομένους καὶ προπηλακισμῶν τὴν στάσιν εἰς ὁμόνοιαν διαλύειν. ὡσαύτως ἐν τῇ πατρίδι μὲν ἐλέχθη καὶ ὁ ἐφεξῆς, ὃ δὲ ἐπιγράφεται,

*with Apameia*, was delivered in his native city, and this is precisely what the speaker seeks to achieve. The following discourse also is an appeal to the Apameians for concord with the people of Prusa. Number twenty-five is *An Address in his Native City*. The speaker professes ignorance of the reason why, although his speeches have contributed nothing useful, his audience is glad, yes, longs to hear him. The title of twenty-six is *A Political Address*, and it was delivered in his native city, as was also the one that follows, which is an address of friendship toward Prusa for receiving with honours the man who is making the address of friendship. The speech that follows these is a defence of his attitude toward his native city in the past. Number twenty-nine has the title, *Prior to his Philosophical Career, in his Native City*. Those who had tried to stone Dio to death, and with him also a second person, and then also to give his house to the flames, the speech reproves rather mildly and it maintains that the life of a wanderer in foreign lands is preferable to living at home because of the disorder prevalent in the city. The speaker says that the anger directed against him by his fellow-citizens was occasioned by his repairing his house, which had been falling in ruins. The thirtieth speech, which bears the title, *A Speech in the Public Assembly in his Native City*, is also directed toward the same theme. Number thirty-one, delivered in his native city, is entitled *A Political Address in Assembly*, and it advises his hearers to desist from their deeds of reciprocal violence and their insults and to turn their party strife into concord. Similarly the next also was delivered in his native city, and its title, *A Refusal of Office*,

παραίτησις ἀρχῆς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, τοῦτο καὶ ἐνδείκνυται· ἐκ ψηφίσματος γὰρ ἄρχειν ὁ συγγραφεὺς ᾑρημένος παραιτεῖται. ὁ δὲ λγ΄, περὶ τῶν ἔργων ἐν βουλῇ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν παρέχων, ἔπαινον μέν τινα τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιτρέχει, ἀπολογεῖται δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ Δίων ὑπενοεῖτο, ὡς μὴ τὰ τοῦ παιδὸς ἔργα καὶ αἱ πράξεις αἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τῆς πατρικῆς εἰσι βουλῆς ἐξημμέναι. ὁ ἐφεξῆς δὲ πρὸς Διόδωρον ἐπιγραφόμενος, προτροπὴν μέν τινα ἐπ' ἀρετὴν εἰσάγει, ἐπαινεῖν δὲ τὴν πόλιν φησὶ δι' ὧν τὸν ἐγκωμιάσαντα Διόδωρον ἐπαίνοις περιβάλλει. ὁ δὲ λε΄, περὶ Αἰσχύλου καὶ Σοφοκλέους καὶ Εὐριπίδου ἢ περὶ τῶν Φιλοκτήτου τόξων ἐπιγεγραμμένος, τὴν τοῦ Φιλοκτήτου πλάττει ἐξαπάτην, ἣν προβεβλημένος Ὀδυσσεὺς λαβὼν ᾤχετο τὰ τόξα. τῷ δὲ ϛ΄ καὶ λ΄ λόγῳ ἡ μὲν ἐπιγραφὴ περὶ Ὁμήρου λέγει, ἔπαινος δέ τις τοῦ ποιητοῦ διυφαίνεται, ὥσπερ καὶ τῷ περὶ Σωκράτους ἐπιγραφομένῳ τοῦ φιλοσόφου. ὁ δὲ περὶ Ὁμήρου καὶ Σωκράτους, λη΄ λόγος ὤν, ζηλωτὴν Ὁμήρου Σωκράτην καὶ μαθητὴν ἐπιδείκνυσι, καὶ τό τε οἰκεῖον τῆς τῶν παραδειγμάτων μεταχειρίσεως ἐκεῖθεν ἀναμαθεῖν τὸν φιλόσοφον ἐπιδεικνύει, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τοῦ λόγου χάριν καὶ δύναμιν ἐναπομάξασθαι. ὁ δὲ λθ΄, Ἀγαμέμνων ἢ περὶ βασιλέως ἐπιγραφόμενος, διέξεισιν ὡς δεῖ συμβούλων τοῖς ἀρίστοις τὸν βασιλέα κεχρημένον ἐκείνοις τε πείθεσθαι καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὸ δοκοῦν ἀπαυθαδιάζειν. καὶ ᾧ δὲ Νέστωρ ἡ ἐπιγραφή, ὅπως κεχρῆσθαι προσῆκε τῇ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς παραινέσει περι-

*before the Council*, is self-explanatory, for the author had by official ballot been elected archon but begs to be excused. Number thirty-three, which provides the title, *Concerning his Past Record, before the Council*, deals lightly with a laudation of the Council, but it also contains a defence regarding matters about which Dio was the subject of suspicion, setting forth, as it does, that his son's actions and the administration of the city's affairs did not depend upon the advice of the father. The one following, entitled *In Reply to Diodorus*, introduces what may be termed an exhortation to virtue, but Dio says that he is praising the city by covering with praises Diodorus, who had eulogized it. Number thirty-five, entitled *On Aeschylus and Sophocles and Euripides or On the Bow of Philoctetes*, depicts the deception of Philoctetes, under cover of which Odysseus seized and carried off the bow. The title of number thirty-six reads: *On Homer*, and it is interwoven with a laudation of the poet, just as there is laudation of the philosopher in the discourse labelled *On Socrates*. The discourse *On Homer and Socrates*, which is number thirty-eight, depicts Socrates as an imitator and disciple of Homer and seeks to show both that the philosopher's own peculiar manner of handling his illustrations had been learned from Homer and also that the rest of the charm and force to be found in his language had received the imprint of Homer. Number thirty-nine, labelled *Agamemnon or On the King*, argues that the king must employ the best of counsellors and must not only follow their advice but also not act arbitrarily to suit his own opinion. Again, the discourse entitled *Nestor* contains the doctrine that it was proper to employ Nestor's advice to the kings. In

λαμβάνεται. ὁ δὲ ἐφεξῆς, Ἀχιλλεὺς οὐ πειθόμενος τῷ Χείρωνι, προνοίᾳ καὶ τέχνῃ, ἀλλὰ μὴ θράσει καὶ χειρῶν ἰσχύϊ συμβουλεύοντι μεταχειρίζεσθαι πόλεμον, ὕστερον οὐκ ἀπώνατο τῆς ἀπειθείας. καὶ ὁ Φιλοκτήτης δὲ παράφρασίς ἐστι τοῦ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀτυχήματος. ἐφ᾽ οἷς ὁ Νέσσος ἢ Δηιάνειρα τῶν ἀπιθάνως περὶ αὐτοὺς πεπλασμένων διά τινος θεραπείας εἰς εἱρμόν τινα καὶ τάξιν δοκεῖ τὸ ἀπίθανον μεταρρυθμίζειν. καὶ ὁ Χρυσηὶς ἔπαινός ἐστι Χρυσηίδος. ὁ δὲ περὶ βασιλείας καὶ τυραννίδος περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων διαλαμβάνει. καὶ οἱ ἐφεξῆς δὲ γ′ περὶ τύχης λόγοι χαρίεντά τινα καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἅμα ἐχόμενα θεωρήματα διατυποῦσιν. ὡσαύτως καὶ οἱ μετὰ τούτους περὶ δόξης γ′ λόγοι συμβουλεύουσι καὶ παραινοῦσι μηδένα λόγον τῆς τῶν πολλῶν δόξης ποιεῖσθαι· καλὰ δὲ καὶ ὠφέλιμα τῇ παραινέσει συνδιαπλέκεται θεωρήματα. ὁ δὲ νβ′ περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ ἐπιγράφεται καὶ δίεισι. περὶ φιλοσοφίας δέ ἐστιν ὁ γ′ καὶ ν′. ὁ δὲ νδ′ περὶ τοῦ φιλοσόφου· ὁ δὲ ε′ καὶ ν′ περὶ τοῦ σχήματος ἐπιγεγραμμένος δείκνυσιν ὡς οὐ χιτῶνι καὶ ὑποδήματι φιλοσόφων ὁ κατεσχηματισμένος ἤδη καὶ τὸν βίον φιλόσοφός ἐστιν. ὁ δὲ ϛ′ καὶ ν′ περὶ πίστεως ἐπιγραφῆς τυχών, καὶ ὁ ἐφεξῆς περὶ ἀπιστίας, προτρέπονται φυλάσσεσθαι τὸ θαρρεῖν καὶ καταπιστεύειν καὶ τοῖς μάλιστα φιλεῖν δοκοῦσι· πολλοῖς γὰρ πιστεύσασι μὲν μεγάλη ἀπήντησε συμφορά, ἀπιστίᾳ δὲ φραξαμένοις λαμπρὰ περιγέγονε σωτηρία. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ περὶ

[1] The centaur to whom the youthful Achilles had been entrusted.

the next we find Achilles refusing to obey Cheiron,[1] who was advising him to practise warfare with prudence and craft, instead of with daring and strength of arm, a refusal which subsequently he had occasion to repent. The *Philoctetes* is a paraphrase of that hero's misfortune. Next comes the *Nessus or Deïaneira*, which seems to transform the improbability of the unconvincing fictions regarding those two characters into a sort of orderly sequence through the operation of a kind of healing process. Again, the *Chryseïs* is a laudation of Chryseïs. The discourse *On Kingship and Tyranny* deals with these very topics. The three speeches *On Fortune* that follow give expression to certain clever and at the same time rather philosophic observations. Likewise also the next three *On Opinion* counsel and exhort the listener not to pay any heed to the opinion of the masses ; noble and useful observations also are interwoven with the exhortation. Number fifty-two, both in title and in content, is *On Virtue*. Fifty-three is *On Philosophy* ; fifty-four is *On the Philosopher* ; and fifty-five, which is entitled *On Personal Appearance*, points out that it is not the person who has dressed himself up with tunic and sandal of the philosophers who is by virtue of that fact a philosopher in his life as well. Number fifty-six, which is called *On Trust*, and the one following, *On Distrust*, urge mankind to guard against having confidence and trusting even those who most of all are thought to be friends ; for while many who have bestowed their trust have encountered great misfortune, those who have hedged themselves about with distrust have found notable safety to be the outcome. However, these things constitute the

ἀπιστίας λόγος· ὁ δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ διέξεισιν ὡς καὶ τὸ πιστεύεσθαι ὡς ἐπίπαν μεγάλα τοὺς πιστευομένους ἐζημίωσεν. ἡ δ' ὑπόθεσις τοῦ νη' λόγου, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ ἐπιγραφή, περὶ νόμου ἐστίν· ὡς καὶ ἡ τοῦ νθ' περὶ ἔθους, ὃ πράττειν μὲν ὅσα ὁ νόμος ἀποδείκνυσι, μεθ' ἡδονῆς δὲ καὶ πειθοῦς μᾶλλον ἢ βίας, καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον. δύο δὲ οἱ ἐφεξῆς περὶ φθόνου διαλαμβάνουσι. καὶ ὁ β' καὶ ξ' περὶ πλούτου, τὸ ὀχληρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπίβουλον στηλιτεύων, καὶ πολλῷ λυσιτελεστέραν αὐτοῦ παριστῶν τὴν μετὰ δικαιοσύνης πενίαν. ὁ δὲ γ' καὶ ξ' ἐπιγράφεται τῶν ἐν Κιλικίᾳ περὶ ἐλευθερίας, ἐκεῖνον δὲ ἐλεύθερον παριστᾷ, ὃς τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ κύριος εἴη παθῶν, κἂν μυρίοι ἔξωθεν αὐτοῦ τοῦ σώματος ὦσι δεσπόται, καὶ δοῦλον ἐκεῖνον, ὃς ἀνδράποδόν ἐστι παθῶν, εἰ καὶ συμπάσης ἄρχειν τῆς οἰκουμένης δοκεῖ. εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν δ' ἀναφέρεται διάνοιαν καὶ ὁ ἐφεξῆς, περὶ δουλείας καὶ ἐλευθερίας ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ ἐφεξῆς δεύτερος, περὶ δούλων ὤν. καὶ ὁ μετ' αὐτὸν δέ, περὶ λύπης, ὡς οὐ χρὴ παρεγγυᾶται τὸν γενναῖον καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντα ἄνδρα ὑποκατακλίνεσθαι τῷ πάθει, περιορᾶν δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ ἀποτρίβεσθαι. καὶ ὁ περὶ πλεονεξίας, ζ' καὶ ξ' ὤν, ἀποτρέπεσθαι ταύτην παρεγγυᾷ. καὶ ὁ ξη', ὥσπερ ἐπιγέγραπται περὶ λόγου ἀσκήσεως, τοιαύτην καὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ὑποβάλλει. περὶ δὲ τῆς αὐτοῦ φιληκοΐας ὁ ξθ' καὶ ἐπιγράφεται καὶ διαλαμβάνει. ὁ δὲ ο' ἐπιγραφῆς μὲν περὶ ἀναχωρήσεως τυγχάνει, κατασκευάζει δὲ ὡς οὐχὶ τὸ τὰς ἐρήμους διώκειν ἀναχώρησίς ἐστι παθῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν βίῳ θορύβων, ἀλλὰ τὸ εἰς

speech *On Distrust*; the speech which precedes it describes in detail how even being trusted as a rule has brought great losses on those trusted. The theme of fifty-eight, as also its title, is *On Law*; so, too, number fifty-nine is *On Custom.* The latter proves that custom accomplishes as much as law, but that it operates by means of pleasure and persuasion rather than by means of force, and with greater certainty. The two speeches following are treatises *On Envy.* Number sixty-two is *On Wealth*, a discourse which holds up to public ridicule the vexatiousness and fickleness of wealth and shows that much more profitable is poverty joined to righteousness. Number sixty-three is labelled *One of the Addresses in Cilicia, On Freedom*, and it seeks to show that that person is free who is master of the emotions within him, even though ten thousand persons outside him may be masters of his body; and, on the other hand, that he is a slave who is slave to his emotions, even if he is thought to be lord of all the world. The next discourse also, with the title *On Slavery and Freedom*, refers to the same notion, just as does also the next in order, which is *On Slaves.* The one after that, *On Pain*, exhorts the high-born man who has intelligence not to give way to suffering, but rather to disregard and abolish it. *On Covetousness*, number sixty-seven, also is an exhortation to avoid this fault. The theme of number sixty-eight is, like its title, *On Training for Public Speaking. On Dio's Love of Listening* is both the title and the theme of number sixty-nine. Number seventy has the title *On Retirement*, and it seeks to prove that hunting for places of seclusion is not retirement from sufferings and from the turmoils

ἑαυτὸν ἐπεστράφθαι καὶ σπεύδειν γνῶναι ἑαυτόν, τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων κακίας συμφορῶν ὀλίγον ἔχοντα λόγον. περὶ κάλλους δὲ ὁ μετὰ τοῦτον λόγος, ὃν ἐπιγέγραπται τρόπον, τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ περὶ νεανίσκου διέξεισιν· ἐν ᾧ ὡς οὐ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἔθνεσι καὶ βαρβάροις τὸ αὐτὸ νομίζεται κάλλος, ἄλλο δὲ παρ' ἄλλοις νικᾷ. ὁ δὲ οβ' περὶ εἰρήνης καὶ πολέμου τήν τε ἐπιγραφὴν προβάλλεται καὶ διαλαμβάνει. ὁ δὲ γ' καὶ ο', ὅτι εὐδαίμων ὁ σοφός, καὶ ὁ ἐπ' αὐτῷ περὶ εὐδαιμονίας· ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις περὶ τοῦ δαίμονος. δαίμονας δὲ καλεῖ τοὺς ὅσοι λαχόντες ἄρχειν ἑτέρων ἄμεινον πράττειν τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἢ καὶ χεῖρον συμμετεσκεύασαν. περὶ δὲ τοῦ βουλεύεσθαι ὁ ς' καὶ ο' διαλαμβάνει. ὁ δὲ ζ' καὶ ο' διατριβὴ περὶ τῶν ἐν συμποσίῳ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν πεποιημένος τινὰ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ διέξεισι συμπιπτόντων, καὶ ὡς ὁ πολὺς ἄνθρωπος τηνικαῦτα πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ὁρᾶν εἴωθεν, ἡνίκα αὐτοῦ ὁ βίος ἀνίαις περιρρεῖται. ὁ δὲ η' καὶ ο' καὶ ὁ μετ' αὐτὸν Μελαγκόμας α' καὶ β' ἐπιγεγραμμένοι ἔπαινόν τε διαγράφουσι τοῦ νεανίσκου καὶ μνήμην ἐπὶ χρηστοῖς τελευτήσαντος καὶ λύπην. ὁ δὲ π', Χαρίδημος μὲν αὐτῷ ἡ ἐπιγραφή, ἔπαινον δὲ καὶ πένθος ἐπὶ τελευτήσαντι συνδιαπλέκει τῷ νέῳ.

## 7. Arethae Archiepiscopi Dio

*Arethas, Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, was a pupil of Photius and shared his enthusiasm for Greek literature. He was exceedingly active in collecting manuscripts, and we possess some that were copied at his expense, notably the*

of life, but rather retirement is turning one's mind inward upon oneself and seeking to know oneself, paying little heed to misfortunes which result from the wickedness of others. *On Beauty*, which comes next, in keeping with its title discusses the beauty of a youth. In this discourse it is pointed out that not among all nations alike, including barbarians, is the same thing held to be beauty, but that one thing is preferred here and another there. *On Peace and War* is both the title and the subject matter of seventy-two. Seventy-three has the title, *That the Wise is Fortunate and Happy*; next comes *On Happiness*; and the next is *On the Guardian Spirit*. The author applies the term guardian spirit to all who, having been chosen to govern others, help to cause those whom they govern to fare better or worse. *On Deliberation* is the theme of seventy-six. Seventy-seven, *A Short Talk on What Takes Place at a Symposium*, discusses some of the things that occur at a symposium and maintains that the time when most men are wont to turn their attention to philosophy is when their lives are engulfed in troubles. Number seventy-eight and the one which follows, which are entitled *Melancomas I* and *II* respectively, contain a laudation of the youth, a reminder of the noble career that preceded his death, and an expression of the grief which his death occasioned. Number eighty has the title *Charidemus*, and it combines praise and sorrow over the death of the young man.

## 7. Arethas

*Bodleian Plato known as* Clarkianus. *Some of his annotations on Greek authors have been preserved, Dio being included in that number.*

*The rather lengthy note on Dio that we present first is a scholium on the discourses* On Kingship. *Arethas seeks to defend Dio against the imputation of arrogance in those four compositions by citing the conduct of Nestor in the famous scene in* Iliad *1 in which Nestor recounts glorious exploits of his younger days for the purpose of securing the obedience of Agamemnon and Achilles. The appeal to the authority of Homer is quite in the spirit of Dio himself.*

*It will be observed that Arethas has the false impression*

*Σοφὸς οὑτοσὶ τῷ ὄντι Δίων ὁ Προυσαεὺς καὶ τἄλλα μὲν τὰ περὶ λόγων ἀσκήσεως, μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς προκειμένους περὶ βασιλείας φρονήσει διαρκεστάτῃ ἐξυφαινόμενος. Οὐεσπασιανὸς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ τῆς βιωφελοῦς τούτων γνώμης ἐπήβολος. οἷς γὰρ ἠπόρει τῇ ἐπικρατούσῃ ταῖς τῶν συμβούλων εἰς ὕπαιθρον χρῆσθαι μεθόδοις περιαυτολογίᾳ, φησὶ τὸν εἰσηγεῖσθαι τεταγμένον σεμνολογήσασθαι, ὡς ἂν ᾖ ταύτῃ τὸ εὐπαράδεκτον αὐτῷ τῶν ὑποτιθεμένων κατανυόμενον, ἐπεί τοι καὶ λόγος δραστικώτερος ὁ τοῦ κρείττονος. ἀφ᾽ οὗ δοκεῖ μοι καὶ Ὅμηρος ὁ ἐποποιός, ἐνευδοκιμῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐ κατὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς καίριόν τι τοῖς μετ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις παραδεικνὺς μάθημα, τὸν Πύλιον παρεισήγαγε Νέστορα ὑπὸ Δρύαντος Καινέως τε μετακαλούμενον καὶ Ἐξαδίου τῆς τ᾽ ἄλλης κατ᾽ ἐκείνους φρατρίας ἀρχὴν μὲν ἐκβοηθεῖν, εἶτα τούτου λαβόμενον Νέστορα τῇ ἐξαγγελίᾳ, ἅτε δὴ τῇ κατὰ χεῖρα βοηθείᾳ τοσούτοις τὸ ἐνυάλιον ἀνδράσι χρειωδέστατον δόξαντα, προσθεῖναι τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε οὐκ ὠκνηκότα τί; τοῦτο τὸ καιριώτατον λέγω τῆς συμβουλῆς. τί γάρ φησι;*

*καὶ μέν μευ βουλέων ξύνιον πείθοντό τε μύθῳ.*

[1] *Iliad* 1. 273.

*that the discourses* On Kingship *were composed for Vespasian. Probably that error, as also the error of making Nero the author of Dio's exile, was due to a misunderstanding of his teacher Photius, whom he echoes in a passage we have omitted. Arethas also gives to the epithet Chrysostomos a novel meaning, which he supports by citing some amusing verses of an unknown versifier, whose gossip resembles Lucian's anecdote (Hermotimus 34) about the Sicilian tyrant Gelon.*

This Dio of Prusa was truly wise in general in his practice of oratory, but particularly when, with consummate wisdom, he wove the present speeches *On Kingship*. The emperor Vespasian had grasped the practical wisdom which characterizes them ; for when he was at a loss how to deal with the undisguised egotism dominant in the methods of his counsellors, he says that the counsellor who had been appointed to make a proposal resorted to grandiloquence, in order that in this way he might insure that the acceptability of his proposals might be achieved, for of course an utterance is more cogent when it is that of a superior person. This, in my opinion, is the reason why Homer the epic poet, who enjoys a high reputation in such matters not matched by most men, when handing down to his successors a timely lesson to serve them in like circumstances, introduced into his narrative the statement that Pylian Nestor, when summoned by Dryas and Caeneus and Exadius and the rest of their clan, first of all came to their aid, and then, after Nestor had dealt with that exploit, since of course by his active assistance to so many men in war he had gained a reputation for being most indispensable, that he added to his declaration without any hesitation—what ? This I claim is the most vital point in his counsel. For what does he say ?

They heard my counsels and obeyed my word.[1]

καὶ ἐπειδήπερ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μεγαλοπρεπὲς ὑπεστήσατο, ὡς ἂν ἤδη μετεωρίσας τὸ ἔργον ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιούτοις ὑπερφυέσιν ἀξιόχρεως νομισθῆναι, οὓς καὶ πειθηνίους τῶν ἑαυτοῦ βουλευμάτων ἐξέφηνε, πεποιθότως ἐντεῦθεν ἐπήνεγκεν·

ἀλλὰ πίθεσθε καὶ ὔμμες, ἐπεὶ πείθεσθαι ἄμεινον,

μόνον οὐχὶ λέγων· ὁρᾶτε οὓς ἐγὼ τοιούτους ἔσχηκα κατηκόους; οὔκουν ἀκλεὲς οὐδὲ ἀσύμφορον καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ πείθεσθαι.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν οὕτω σαφῶς τὴν περίνοιαν δηλοῖ, τῇ πράξει τὴν μέθοδον ἐμπεδώσας, ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ ὁ Προυσαεὺς οὗτος τοιοῦτος, διόπερ οὐκ ἔχων τοιούτοις καὶ οὗτος ἐγκαλλωπίσασθαι ἑτέρως μέτεισι τὴν χρείαν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ᾔδει τὴν ὁμογνωμοσύνην ταυτότητι τρόπων τοὺς ὁμογνωμονοῦντας συνδέουσαν, ὅ γε λοιπὸν καὶ τὴν ἰσονομίαν βραβεύειν ἐπίσταται, ἐκείνους ἀθροίσας ὅσοι τὰς βασιλείους οἴμους κατειληφότες γνωρίζειν τοῖς ἔρχεσθαι ταύτας ἀσφαλέστατα βουλομένοις θεσπίζουσι, τὸν Μελητιάδην Ὅμηρον λέγω, Σωκράτη τε τὸν Σωφρονίσκου καὶ Φαιναρέτης, πρὸς δὲ καὶ Διογένη τὸν Σινωπέα, καὶ μέντοι πλασάμενός τι μεταξὺ τῶν λόγων καὶ αὐτὸς, ἐκ Πελοποννησίας γραός, Ἀρκαδικῆς μὲν τὴν οἴκησιν, νομαδικῆς δὲ τὸν βίον, καὶ περὶ τὸ ἐνθουσιᾶν προσευκαιρούσης, ταύτης ἀκηκοέναι περὶ τοῦ ἐκ Σεμέλης Ἡρακλέους τίς τε οὗτος εἴη ὁ ἐκ Σεμέλης καὶ οἷος τὸν βίον,

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1 *Iliad* 1. 274. 2 Cf. Or. 1. 49 ff. Arethas is in error.

And when Nestor had established his own importance to that extent, as if he had already exalted his achievement through having been deemed trustworthy by such extraordinary beings, whom he declared also to have been obedient to his desires, he thereupon added with confidence,

> But ye too harken, for 'tis better so,[1]

all but saying, "Do you see how wonderful these men were whose obedience I have had? Then it is not ignominious or disadvantageous for you also to obey me."

Well then, this is the way in which Nestor clearly reveals his intellectual superiority, having established doctrine by achievement; but this man from Prusa was not another Nestor, wherefore, not being able to boast of exploits such as his, he pursues his purpose differently. For since he knew that like-mindedness by identity of manners binds together the like-minded, he therefore knows how to judge equality as well, and he assembles all those famous men who, having comprehended how to recognize the paths of kingship, lay down the law for those who wish to tread them most securely—I refer to Homer son of Meles, Socrates son of Sophroniscus and Phaenaretê, and also Diogenes of Sinopê. Moreover, he too resorted to a bit of invention in the midst of his speeches, namely, the fiction that from an old woman of the Peloponnese—who was an Arcadian by domestic ties but lived a roving life and also found leisure for ecstatic experience—that from her, I say, he had heard about Heracles son of Semelê, not only who this son of Semelê was but also what kind of life he lived.[2] Nay more, he claimed

ἀλλά γε καὶ ὅτι ὑπ᾿ αὐτῆς ἀπαγγέλλειν ταῦτα προστέτακται ὅτῳ ἔστιν ὅτε συγκυρήσοι ἀξίῳ τοῦ βασιλείου ἐπιτηδεύματος, καὶ τούτοις οὐ μόνον ἐπιρρώσας τὸ ἑαυτῷ σπουδαζόμενον, εἰ μή που καὶ ὡς ὁμόγλωσσον ἑαυτὸν τούτοις ἐν ταῖς προκειμέναις ὑποθέσεσιν ἀποφήνας ἀνεπαχθέστατα τὸ ἔργον συνεπεράνατο. ἃ γὰρ οὗτος τὰ νῦν συμβουλεύειν προείλετο, ἐκείνοις προδιηγορευμένα ὑπέφηνεν, λεληθότως ἐκ τούτων φιλοτιμούμενος ἑαυτὸν παρισῶσαι τοῖς προεφωδευκόσι τὰ νῦν αὐτῷ πρεσβευόμενα. τοιγὰρ τῇ πρὸς τούτους κοινολογίᾳ, ἐν οἷς τῆς βασιλείου βιοτῆς τε καὶ τάξεως τὰ παράσημα διεξῄεσαν, οὐχ ἧττον καὶ οὗτος τὸ μεγαλαυχεῖν ἐπεσπάσατο, πεφυκότος εἰς ἅπαν τοῦ κατ᾿ οὐδὲν ὑπαλλάσσειν τὴν εἰσήγησιν τῶν ἐν τῷ ζῆν προτερημάτων ἐνάμιλλον παριστάνειν καὶ τοῦτον ἐκείνων τῶν προκαταρξάντων βιωφελῶν οὕτω ῥημάτων. τί γάρ φησιν ὁ Ἀσκραῖος ποιμήν; ἐσθλὸς δ᾿ αὖ κἀκεῖνος, ὃς ἄλλου εὖ εἰπόντος πείθεται.

Συντόμως τὸ προκείμενον τοῦ εὐπαρακολουθήτου ἕνεκα οὕτω προσακτέον. Δίων οὗτος ὁ Προυσαεὺς οἷς οὐκ εἶχεν ἐγκαλλωπίσασθαι περιαυτολογίᾳ, φημὶ ὥσπερ ὁ Πύλιος Νέστωρ, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτο εἰς ἀναντίρρητον τοῖς συμβουλεύουσιν ἐπακολουθεῖ ὑπὲρ τοῦ εὐπαράδεκτον εἶναι τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν κρειττόνων παράκλησιν. οἷς οὖν οὕτω προάγειν οὐκ εἶχε, τέχνῃ τοῦτο κατήνυσεν, σύμφωνον ἑαυτὸν ἀποφαίνων τοῖς περὶ βασιλείας εἰρηκόσι σοφοῖς καὶ ὅπως χρὴ βασιλείαν μετιέναι. τὸ γὰρ ὁμό-

[1] Hesiod, *Works and Days* 295.

that he had been appointed by this old woman to report these things to any one whom he might encounter from time to time who was worthy of the kingly office, and in such cases not merely lending strength to his own special interest, unless perchance by proving that he spoke the same language as they did on the subjects under discussion, he accomplished his task with the least offence. For the advice which he chose to give on such an occasion he revealed as having been previously delivered by those men of old, secretly aspiring in this way to place himself on the same level with those who had led the way in the matters then advocated by him. Therefore in his discussions with these men, while they were going through the spurious elements in the kingly life and order, nevertheless he too induced boasting, since it was wholly natural that his failure to alter in any wise his recommendation of the advantages in his mode of life should result in his presenting himself too as a rival of those men of old who had first uttered sayings of such practical utility. For what says the shepherd of Ascra? "He too is noble who heeds another who has spoken wisely."[1]

In short, the subject under discussion must, for the sake of clearness, be presented as follows. This Dio of Prusa, in matters wherein he was unable to boast of personal exploits—I mean as Pylian Nestor did, since this too results in making unanswerable the words of the counsellor regarding the acceptability of the exhortation offered by those who are superior—in matters, then, wherein he could not persuade in this way, he achieved his aim by artifice, representing himself as in agreement with the sages who have told about kingship and how it should be

γνωμον καὶ ἰσότιμον τοῖς προαπηγγελκόσι τὰ κεδνὰ ταῦτα βουλεύματα, εἴ τι τῷ Ἀσκραίῳ πιστεύειν δεῖ ποιμένι. . . .

Περὶ Δίωνος καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς τοῦ λόγου αὐτοῦ ἰδέας. Ὁ Δίων οὗτος ἦν μὲν Προυσαεύς, Προύσης τῆς πρὸς τῷ Μυσῷ Ὀλύμπῳ, πρὸς δὲ τῇ ἄλλῃ σοφίᾳ καὶ τὰ περὶ λόγους ἐπήσκητο καὶ λέγειν σχεδίως εἰς ἄκρον τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν παρεσκευασμένος ζηλωτὸς ἅπασι καὶ ἀπόβλεπτος ἦν. ταύτῃ τοι καὶ τῇ τοῦ λόγου χρησάμενος ῥύμῃ, καὶ πρὸς Νέρωνα ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παρρησιασάμενος φίλων, ἀειφυγίᾳ κατεδικάσθη καὶ ἦν τῷ ζημιώματι ἐπίτιμος τούτῳ ἐς ὅτε Οὐεσπασιανὸν ἡ Ῥωμαίων εὐτυχεῖ πολιτεία, ᾧ συγγενόμενος κατὰ τὴν Νειλῴαν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ πολλὰ τῶν βασιλεῖ ὑποθέμενος ἀνηκόντων τέλος καὶ τοὺς παρόντας βασιλικοὺς λόγους αὐτῷ ἐξεπόνησε.

Χρυσόστομος δὲ κατὰ τὸν λόγον οὐχ οὕτως ὅσον διά τι σύμπτωμα ἐπὶ τὸ εὐσχημονέστερον μεταποιούμενον ἐκλήθη. τῇ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἀποφορᾷ οὐ πάνυ εὐτυχεῖ ἐχρῆτο, ὡς δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί, καὶ ὁ τοὺς λόγους θεῖος ἀπαγγέλλει ἀνήρ. φησὶ γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἰαμβείοις αὐτοῦ οὕτω.

Δίων ἀνέπνει, φασίν, οὐ μάλ' ἡδύ τι·
τοῦτον λέγω Δίωνα, οὗ πολὺς λόγος.
καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκερτόμησε τῶν τις ἀστικῶν.
τὸν δ' ὡς ἰδεῖν γυναῖκα τὴν αὐτοῦ, φράσαι·

[1] Arethas is at fault in this account of Dio's exile and return to imperial favour. Dio is critical of Nero, but it was Domitian who caused his exile and whose death made possible his return. Furthermore, the discourses *On Kingship* are believed to have been addressed to Trajan.

practised. For like-mindedness is also equality in honour with those who previously have announced these sage counsels, if we should give any credence to the shepherd of Ascra. . . .

Concerning Dio, the facts about him, and the style of his eloquence: This Dio was a native of Prusa, the Prusa near Mysian Olympus. In addition to his wisdom in general, he had cultivated also the art of public speaking and, having prepared himself for extempore speaking to a point surpassing those of his own day, he was envied and admired by all. In this way, you see, having indulged in the vehemence of his language and having expressed himself freely in the presence of Nero in behalf of his own friends, he was sentenced to lifelong banishment, and he remained under this sentence until the Roman state secured Vespasian as emperor. Having met Vespasian in Alexandria on the Nile and having instructed him in many of the matters pertaining to a king, he finally worked out for him the present discourses *On Kingship*.[1]

He was called Golden-mouthed, not so much to accord with his eloquence, as on account of a certain physical peculiarity the name of which was altered in the direction of greater respectability. For he was not at all fortunate in the effluvia that issued from his mouth, as indeed many others report and in particular the man of divine utterance. For he speaks of Dio in his iambics as follows.

'Tis said that Dio's breath was nothing sweet—
I mean that Dio of whom there's so much talk.
A city fellow told this mocking tale.
He said when Dio saw his wife he cried,

Τί τοῦτο; οὐ γὰρ ἔφρασάς μοι τὴν νόσον.
καὶ τὴν σὺν ὅρκῳ, Τοῦτο πάντων ἀρρένων,
εἰπεῖν, τὸ σύμπτωμ᾽ ᾠόμην, οὐ σοῦ μόνου·
τοσοῦτον ἀνδρῶν καὶ φίλων ἀπεστάτει.
ὁ γὰρ λόγος δίδαγμα τοῦ σεμνοῦ τρόπου.

ἀντὶ τοίνυν τοῦ Ὀζόστομος ἐλέχθη εὐφήμως Χρυσόστομος.

Ἰδέᾳ δὲ κέχρηται συγκράτῳ τοῦ λόγου Πλατωνικῇ καὶ Λυσιακῇ, οὔτε τὸ διηρμένον τοῦ Πλάτωνος τῆς Λυσιακῆς ἀπολύων ἁπλότητος, οὔτε τὸ Λυσιακὸν εἰς ἁπλότητα ἐπιτετηδευμένον τῆς Πλατωνικῆς σεμνότητος ἀποστερῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σεμνολογῶν μετὰ ἀφελείας καὶ τὴν ἀφέλειαν ἐξαίρων διὰ σεμνότητος.

## 8. Suidas Lexic. s.v.

*Suidas is the author of a famous lexicon, probably composed in the third quarter of the tenth century, which is especially valuable for its information on literary matters. In the following entry regarding Dio it will be noted that the bio-*

Δίων ὁ Πασικράτους, Προυσαεύς, σοφιστὴς καὶ φιλόσοφος, ὃν Χρυσόστομον ἐκάλεσαν. ἀντεποιεῖτο δὲ σεμνότητος, ὡς καὶ λεοντῆν φορῶν προϊέναι. ἦν δὲ λεπτὸς τὸ σῶμα, καὶ διέτριψε τὸ πλεῖστον παρὰ Τραιανῷ τῷ Καίσαρι, ὡς καὶ συγκαθέζεσθαι ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ ὀχήματι. ἔγραψεν, Εἰ φθαρτὸς ὁ κόσμος, Ἐγκώμιον Ἡρακλέους καὶ Πλάτωνος, Ὑπὲρ Ὁμήρου πρὸς Πλάτωνα δ′, Περὶ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀρετῶν η′.

## 9. C. Plini et Traiani Epistulae LXXXI—LXXXII

*Pliny,* Letters *x. 81 and 82, a communication from Pliny*

"How's this? You never mentioned my disease."
And she with solemn oath replied, "I thought
That symptom was the nature of all males,
And not of you alone." So far removed
Was she from men and friends. The story serves
To indicate the man's majestic ways.

So it is that, instead of Foul-mouthed, through euphemism he was termed Golden-mouthed.

Dio uses a literary style that is a blend of the styles of Plato and of Lysias, for he neither frees the sublimity of Plato from the simplicity of Lysias nor deprives of Plato's solemnity that trait of Lysias which cultivated simplicity; on the contrary, he not only talks solemnly with simplicity but also elevates his simplicity by means of solemnity.

## 8. Suidas

*graphical details are those earlier recorded by Photius. In view of that, it is noteworthy that the only works listed for Dio by Suidas are four that are mentioned nowhere else.*

*Lexicon:* Dio son of Pasicrates, citizen of Prusa, sophist and philosopher, whom men called Chrysostom. He affected solemnity to the extent of actually appearing in public wearing a lion's skin. He had a lean body. He spent his time for the most part in the society of the emperor Trajan, so that he even sat beside him in the imperial carriage. Writings: *Is the Universe Perishable?*; *In Praise of Heracles and Plato*; *Against Plato in Defence of Homer*, four books; *On the Virtues of Alexander*, eight books.

## 9. Correspondence of Pliny and Trajan

*the Younger to the emperor Trajan and the emperor's reply,*

*are of interest for several reasons. Both documents belong to the year 112, when Pliny was proconsul of Bithynia, and they supply for Dio's career the latest date for which we have sure evidence. They also confirm Dio's words as to the political tension prevalent in Prusa and the petty jealousies and bickering which he encountered upon his return from exile. They are of special interest in connexion with Or. 45 and Or. 47, which deal with the building project to which Pliny*

## LXXXI [LXXXV]

### *C. Plinius Traiano Imperatori*

Cum Prusae ad Olympum, domine, publicis negotiis intra hospitium eodem die exiturus vacarem, Asclepiades magistratus indicavit appellatum me a Claudio Eumolpo. Cum Cocceianus Dion in bule adsignari civitati opus cuius curam egerat vellet, tum Eumolpus adsistente Flavio Archippo dixit exigendam esse a Dione rationem operis, ante quam rei publicae traderetur, quod aliter fecisset ac debuisset. Adiecit etiam esse in eodem opere positam tuam statuam et corpora sepultorum, uxoris Dionis et filii, postulavitque, ut cognoscerem pro tribunali. Quod cum ego me protinus facturum dilaturumque profectionem dixissem, ut longiorem diem ad instruendam causam darem, utque in alia civitate cognoscerem, petiit. Ego me auditurum Nicaeae respondi. Ubi cum consedissem cogniturus, idem Eumolpus tamquam adhuc parum instructus dilationem petere

*refers and give a vivid picture of the hostile opposition against which Dio had to struggle, one specimen of which is contained in the Pliny-Trajan correspondence. Trajan's rather brusque reply may indicate impatience over the attempt to harass his old friend Dio, an impatience in no wise diminished, no doubt, because the Archippus who instigated the present trouble had previously been the occasion of annoyance to the emperor, as we learn from Pliny,* Letters *x. 58-60.*

## LXXXI [LXXXV]

*Gaius Pliny to the Emperor Trajan*

While at Prusa near Olympus, sire, I was in my quarters attending to public business, planning that same day to take my departure, Asclepiades the magistrate made known that an appeal had been made to me by Claudius Eumolpus. When Cocceianus Dio in the Council desired to have turned over to the municipality a work which he had had in charge, Eumolpus, acting in the interest of Flavius Archippus, said that an accounting for the work should be demanded of Dio before it was turned over to the commonwealth, alleging that Dio had acted otherwise than he should have done. He added that the same structure contained a statue of you and also corpses which had been interred there, to wit, those of Dio's wife and son, and he demanded that I conduct a judicial investigation. When I said I would do so forthwith and would postpone my departure, he begged that I allow him more time to prepare his case and that I hold the hearing in a different city. I replied that I would hear the case at Nicaea. When I took my seat there to hold the hearing, the aforesaid Eumolpus, as if still insufficiently prepared, began to ask for postponement;

coepit, contra Dion, ut audiretur, exigere. Dicta sunt utrimque multa etiam de causa. Ego cum dandam dilationem ad te consulendum existimarem in re ad exemplum pertinenti, dixi utrique parti, ut postulationum suarum libellos darent. Volebam enim te ipsorum potissimum verbis ea quae erant proposita cognoscere. Et Dion quidem se daturum dixit, at Eumolpus respondit complexurum se libello quae rei publicae peteret, ceterum quod ad sepultos pertineret non accusatorem se sed advocatum Flavi Archippi, cuius mandata pertulisset. Archippus, qui Eumolpo sicut Prusiade adsistebat, dixit se libellum daturum. At[1] nec Eumolpus nec Archippus quamquam plurimis diebus expectatis adhuc mihi libellos dederunt; Dion dedit, quem huic epistulae iunxi. Ipse in re praesenti fui et vidi tuam quoque statuam in bibliotheca positam, id autem, in quo dicuntur sepulti filius et uxor Dionis, in area collocatum, quae porticibus includitur. Te, domine, rogo, ut me in hoc praecipue genere cognitionis regere digneris, cum alioqui magna sit expectatio, ut necesse est in ea re, quae et in confessum venit et exemplis defenditur.

## LXXXII [LXXXVI]

*Traianus Plinio S.*

Potuisti non haerere, mi Secunde carissime, circa id de quo me consulendum existimasti, cum pro-

[1] *At* Schaefer: *Ita.*

Dio, on the contrary, demanded that the hearing proceed. Many statements were made by both parties, even about the case. Since I believed that a postponement should be granted in order to consult you in a matter bearing on precedent, I told both parties to present their demands in writing. You see, I wanted you to learn from their own words preferably the claims which had been put forward. And Dio, indeed, said that he would do as requested, but Eumolpus answered that he would put in writing what he was asking in behalf of the commonwealth, but that with regard to the buried bodies he was not the accuser but rather the attorney of Flavius Archippus, whose orders he had executed. Archippus, who was assisting Eumolpus as he had at Prusa, said that he would present the memorial. However, neither Eumolpus nor Archippus, despite very many days of waiting, has up to the present handed me the memorials ; Dio has presented his, and I append it to this letter. I myself visited the spot, and I saw your statue also in position in the library ; however, the place where the bodies of Dio's son and wife are said to have been buried is located in a vacant space surrounded by colonnades. I ask you, sire, to see fit to direct me in this kind of inquiry especially, since of itself the case has aroused great public interest, as is inevitable in a matter which is both well known and supported by precedents.

## LXXXII [LXXXVI]

*Trajan to Pliny, greetings*

You might have suffered no perplexity, my very dear Secundus, regarding the matter about which

positum meum optime nosses non ex metu nec terrore hominum aut criminibus maiestatis reverentiam nomini meo adquirendi. Omissa ergo ea quaestione, quam non admitterem, etiam si exemplis adiuvaretur, ratio potius operis effecti sub cura Cocceiani Dionis excutiatur, cum et utilitas civitatis exigat, nec aut recuset Dion aut debeat recusare.

you thought I should be consulted, since you knew very well my purpose not to secure respect for my name through men's fear or dread or by means of charges of high treason. Putting aside, therefore, that point at issue, which I would not entertain even if it were sustained by precedents, rather let the accounting for the work executed under the supervision of Cocceianus Dio be thoroughly investigated, since the advantage of the municipality demands it and Dio neither refuses nor should refuse.

# INDEX

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